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ALOIS MUSIL



AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

ORIENTAL EXPLORATIONS AND STUDIES No. 5

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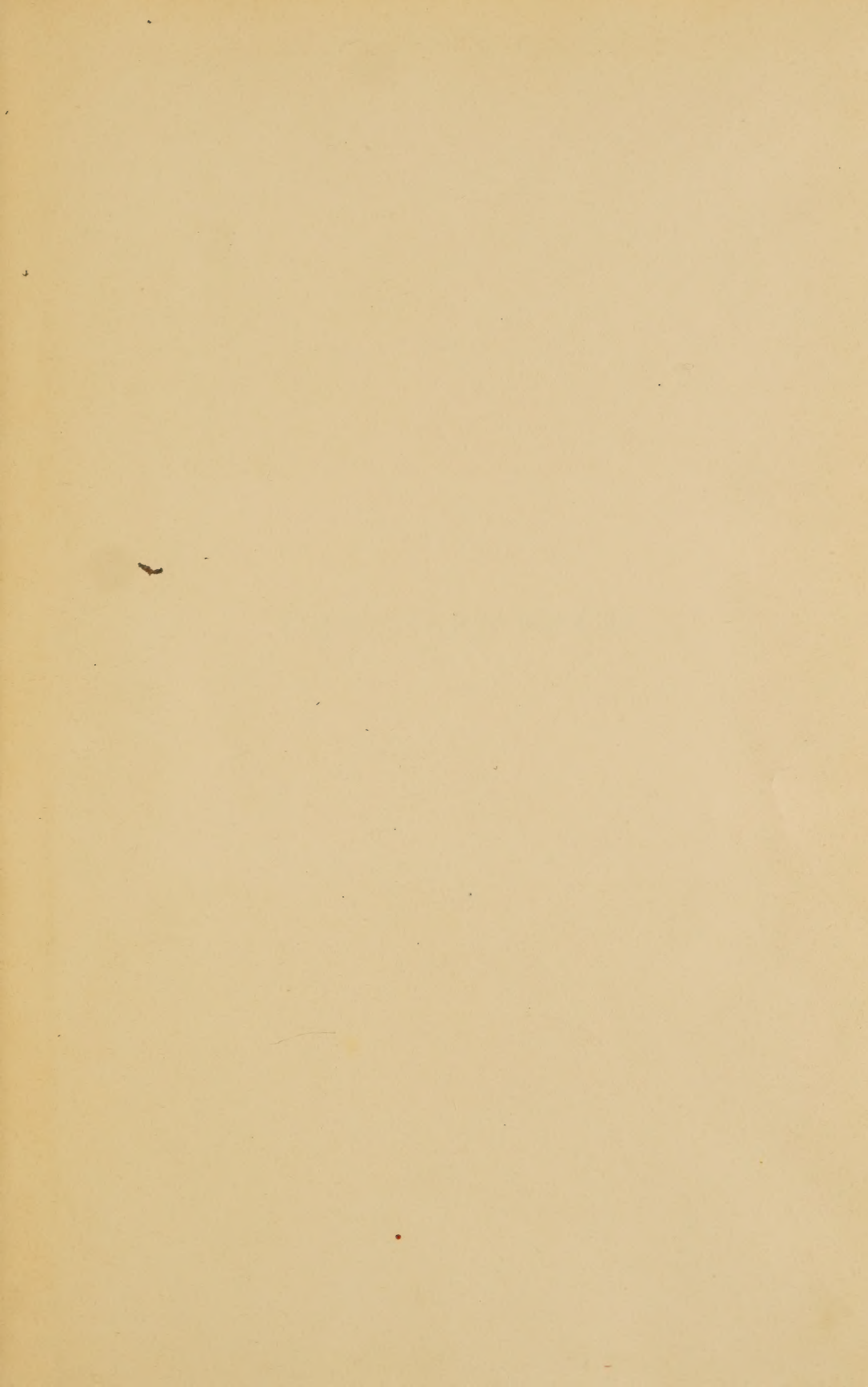
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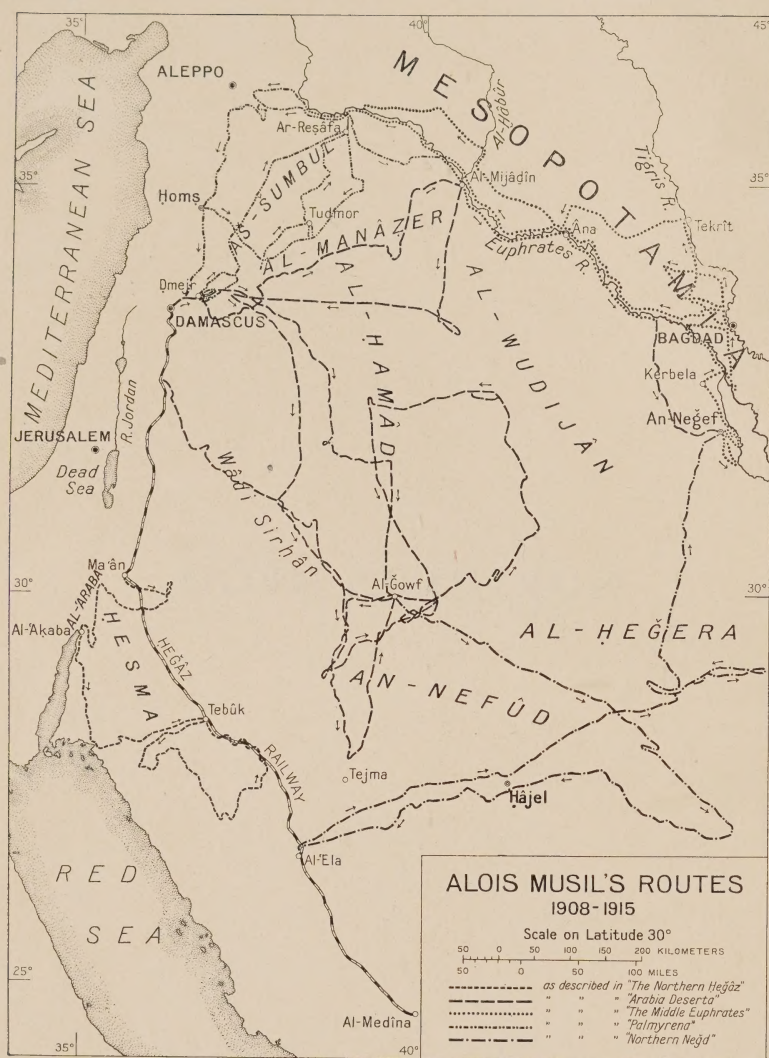
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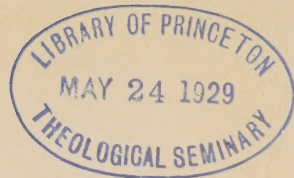
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AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY
ORIENTAL EXPLORATIONS AND STUDIES No. 5.

Edited by J. K. WRIGHT

NORTHERN NEĚD

A Topographical Itinerary

BY

✓
ALOIS MUSIL

Professor of Oriental Studies
Charles University, Prague

Published under the Patronage of the
CZECH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND ARTS
and of
CHARLES R. CRANE



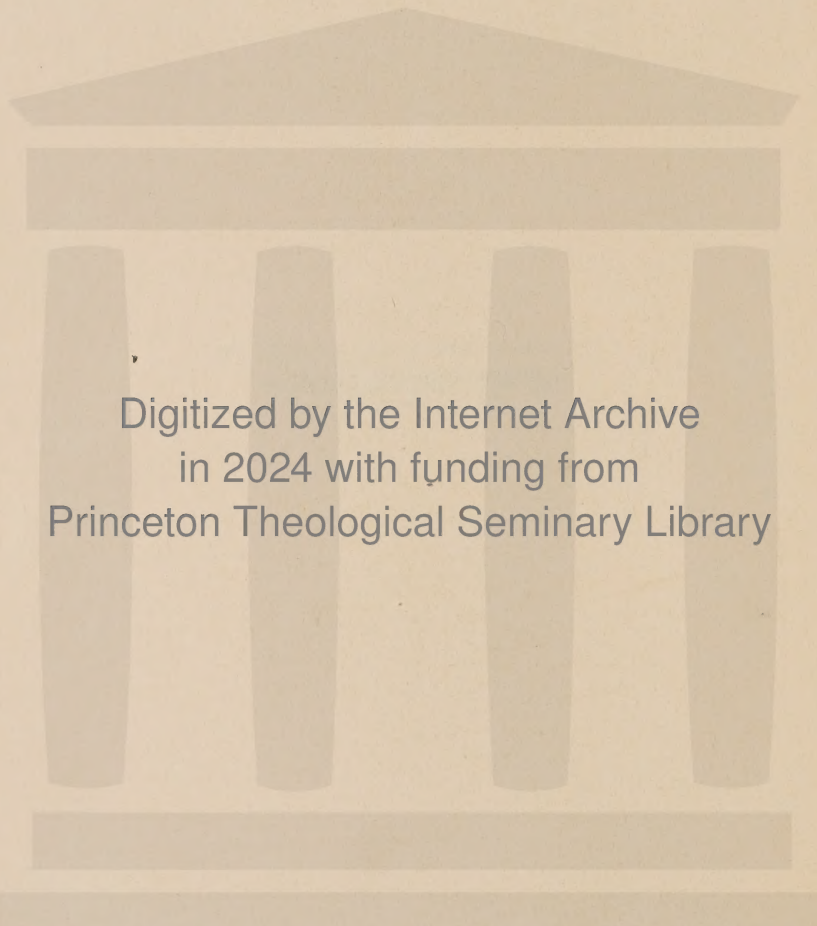
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TO MY SISTER KARLA



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PREFACE

During my sojourn in Arabia Deserta in 1909 I made a sketch map of the northern and western borders of an-Nefûd.¹ It was, however, a matter of regret to me at that time that I had no opportunity of determining the eastern limit of this tract of sand desert. As, moreover, the southern fringes of an-Nefûd were known only partially, I resolved to explore at a later date the southern and eastern environs of the desert and to proceed thence by the Pilgrim Road to an-Neğef and al-Kûfa, in order to complete my map of Northern Arabia (which illustrates the text of this volume). The present volume is a record of these explorations, which were carried out in 1915.

A discussion of the method by which the map of Northern Arabia was constructed will be found in the preface of my *Arabia Deserta* (New York, 1927), pp. xiii-xv.

For more than thirty years I have been collecting the material for Appendixes VIII and IX. This material has consisted not solely of manuscripts and printed publications. Much of it has been gathered from personal conversations with participants in the events recorded, as well as from my own observations made in Arabia. The principal facts derived from these various sources have, on the whole, been in agreement, but they have varied widely as to dates. This was primarily because the Bedouins do not habitually make use of any particular calendar and because there are no official records of events in central Arabia between 1860 and the present day. In an attempt at least approximately to solve the problem of discrepancies in dates I have consulted the *Administration Reports on the Persian Gulf Political Residency and Muskat Political Agency* (*Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Foreign Department*), but only for the years before 1905. The subsequent reports have been declared secret and were therefore inaccessible. Through the intercession, however, of Major-General Lord A. Edward W. Gleichen the India Office answered my queries concerning the dates of certain events after 1905. For this

¹ See Musil, *Arabia Deserta* (New York, 1927), pp. 125—160; 183—196; 281—293.

courtesy my thanks are due both to Lord Gleichen and to the India Office.²

The primary motive of my explorations was historical, not cartographical; I therefore tried to collect as many topographical names as possible, as a basis for historical researches, and in so doing I paid especial attention to the spelling. In transliterating Arabic letters I have used the same signs as in my works *The Northern Heġâz* (New York, 1926), *Arabia Deserta*, *The Middle Euphrates* (New York, 1927), and *Palmyrena* (New York, 1928), attempting to express each sound by a single letter or a single symbol. The meaning of the different symbols will be found by experts below the title of the map of Northern Arabia. For the general reader I would point out that ġ is to be read like *g* in *gem*, š like *sh*, ž like *z* in *azure*, č like *ch* in *chief*, *j* like *y* in *yoke*, and that ʿ is a strong guttural sound. The remaining symbols need not trouble him.

Throughout this work most of the Assyrian names have been transliterated consistently with the scheme of transliteration employed for Arabic names. Greek names are in general spelled in their Latin form rather than directly transliterated from the Greek.³

Bibliographical references in the footnotes are given in abbreviated form. The full references, with the dates of Arabic and ancient authors, will be found in the Bibliography, pp. 323—327.

The meaning of the majority of Arabic terms used in the text will be evident from the context. Two terms, however, are frequently employed without explanation:

še'ib (plural, še'ibân): relatively small watercourse or valley occupied by an intermittent stream;

wâdi (plural, wudijân): relatively large watercourse or valley occupied by an intermittent stream.

Arabic botanical terms appearing in the text are listed in the index with brief characterizations and Latin equivalents as far as these have been determined.

A sketch map showing the author's route and indicating

² The recent history of the house of Eben Sa'ūd and of other Arabian houses is dealt with in greater details and with full references in my book *Dnešní Arabie* (Arabia of Today), Prague, 1928, which forms the first volume of a series on the current history of the Orient.

³ Exceptions to these general rules governing transliteration are made for those proper names that have acquired conventional English forms, the latter forms being used to avoid the appearance of pedantry.

the pages in this volume on which the different portions of his itinerary are discussed accompanies the volume.

To the directors and staffs of the Library of the British Museum, London, the Library of the American Geographical Society of New York, the Library of Columbia University, and the New York Public Library, an expression of gratitude is due for the facilities which they have courteously extended to me. As in previous volumes of this series, I wish here also to express my deeply felt appreciation of the help and advice rendered by the editor, Dr. J. K. Wright, and of the tireless devotion and scrupulous accuracy of Miss Anna Blechová, Secretary of the Oriental Seminar, Charles University, Prague.

CHAPTER I

AL-ĞOWF (DÛMAT AL-ĞANDALIJJJE) TO AT-TA'LABIJJJE

At the beginning of December, 1914, I left Damascus for the purpose of exploring the southern and eastern part of the territory shown on my map of Northern Arabia. I was accompanied by Karl Waldmann (called Ḥalaf), an employe of the Military Geographical Institute, Vienna, whose duties involved keeping my scientific instruments in order and sketching our route traverses. My nine she-camels were under the care of my old and dependable servant, Nāṣer eben ʿObejd al-Marlûk, who took with him his brother, Maṣṣûr, an abnormally clumsy fellow. We carried two tents: a large and oblong one such as is used by the ʿAḳejl camel traders and a rather small circular one of the kind owned by hawkers. After we had paid a visit to Prince an-Nûri eben Šaʿlân, accompanied by his negro ʿAbdallâh (or ʿObejdallâh) and by Nâzel eben Tnejjân, a famous leader of raids hailing from the Singâra of the Šammar tribe, we arrived on January 12, 1915, at the oasis of al-Ğowf and encamped in the yard of the Mâred fort in the town of Dûmat al-Ğandalijje.¹

AL-ĞOWF TO THE BORDER OF THE NEFÛD

On January 13, 1915, we struck our tents at onê in the afternoon, put them on our she-camels, and at 1.35 departed from the castle of Mâred. Our companion, Unejs eben Bnejje, insisted that we postpone our departure until the next morning, but I did not wish to set out with him; and, besides, I wanted to shorten the time of fasting for my camels. ʿÂmer, the administrator of the oasis, ordered some hay to be issued for them; however, what was expected to satisfy all would only suffice for one. Neither at al-Ğowf nor at the other settlements, is any forage ever to be obtained. The adjacent pastures are cropped by herds, and farther the settlers do not venture for fear of robbers. ʿÂmer escorted me with a few soldiers and chiefs in a southeasterly direction to the deserted

¹ The journey from Damascus to al-Ğowf is narrated in the author's *Arabia Deserta*, New York, 1927, pp. 375—474.

garden of al-Ġerâwi, where we arrived at two o'clock. He bade me Godspeed and wished me a long life. Nâzel eben Tnejjân was henceforth our guide and protector.

Beyond al-Ġerâwi, where stand a few *etel* trees, we ascended the slope enclosing the basin al-Ġowf and for the last time enjoyed the view presented by the residence of Emir Nawwâf eben Ša'lân. Violet is the dominant color of the environs of the Mâred. To the north, near the settlement of al-Wâdi, there are two dome-like elevations composed of three horizontal strata, the lowest being red, the middle blue, and the highest white. The tops of the palms looked quite dark, the drifts of sand around us shone yellow, and the heated air over all the landscape trembled, so that every remoter object seemed to loom through a mysterious veil. However, the most beautiful impression was that conveyed by the rounded peaks of the rugged and disconnected range of al-Ĥamâmijât to the northeast of al-Ġowf. At 3.40 they were a golden brown at the base, violet about the center, and a clear pink at the top.

At four o'clock we struck out to the eastward. A man was following behind us with a large bundle on his head and a long stick in his hand. We stopped and waited a moment until this singular straggler reached us. He looked about fifty years of age. After saluting, he declared his intention of joining us. I had no objection, as he impressed me as being an honest fellow. At 4.22 the sand hillock of Tu'ejs al-Faĥâmi emerged to the south.

Near this hillock the route to Hâjel runs south-southeasterly. Beyond the Tu'ejs al-Faĥâmi this route skirts the Tu'ejs abu Râsên, al-Bnejje, and Umm Šeda'. Farther on it enters the sand basin of aš-Šežîž, on the western side of which are the wells called al-Ĥzejma, as-Slêĥijje, al-'Awda, and al-Menâteĥ, and on the eastern those of az-Zherijjât, al-Merfi, ar-Rarîfi, and al-Ĥnejjes.²

At the southern end of the basin of aš-Šežîž rises a sand hill called al-Ma'abhel; beyond this is the sand hill of al-Mtejriš and still farther south a range of dunes, the Flûĥ Râsed. Almost due south of the latter stretches the Nâzjet (sandy flat) ar-Reĥâd, to the south of which the rocks of 'Elejm as-Sa'ad and 'Elejm az-Žuma' rise from the sand. South of these the sand desert is level, forming the Nawâzi (pl. of *nâzje*) al-

² Haġġi Halfa, *Ġihân numa'* (Constantinople, 1145 A. H.), p. 531, states that Šekîka is situated near the sand desert of aġ-Dâĥi and the station of Gubba on the frontier of the territory belonging to the Šammar tribe, on a road abundantly supplied with water and leading from Syria to Neġd. — Aġ-Dâĥi is still employed as a name denoting the north-eastern portion of the sandy desert of the Nefûd southeast of the watering place called aš-Šežîž. Hence Šekîk would have been correct, rather than Šekîka as written by Haġġi Halfa. The settlement of Gubba lies to the south-southeast of this watering place on the al-Hall road leading from Neġd across the Nefûd and through the Sirĥân depression to Syria.

Al-Aĥtal, *Diwân* (Salhani), p. 100, mentions a locality called aš-Šahîĥ (or, as written in some manuscripts, aš-Šakîĥ).

Wukâdijje, al-'Afr, ar-Rwejjât, as-Smejha, al-Ĥanefijje, al-Menesbijje, and al-Mežnâje. In a deep basin between the last two *nawâzi* are the 'Ujûn (Springs) al-Kfê'i. To the northeast of these are the sand hollows called Ka'ar al-Fedâka; still farther in the same direction lies the well of al-Ĥafîr, and to the east of the latter stretch the sand plains of al-Mrara and az-Zbedânât.

To the southeast of al-Mežnâje the road winds across the Nawâzi Ĥumr aš-Šâ'ed and al-Ġerâd and at the rock of the Umm Senmân descends into the basin of the oasis of Ġubba where there are also the somewhat smaller gardens of al-Rôta and ar-Rowz. The settlement of Ġubba has two districts: the Kašr âl Farĥân, with twenty-five, and the Kašr al-Ĥtoba', with twenty cottages respectively. The chief's name is Nâjef eben 'Atîž of the Rmâl house. To the west of al-Ġerâd the sand desert is broken by the pits of al-Ma'w and to the east by those of al-We'el. Still farther east lies the sand flat Nâzjet al-Ĥaġm, north of which is the Nâzjet 'Aṭra with the Nâzjet al-Mwâġe to the eastward. To the west of al-Ma'w spreads the sandy region of al-Baĥbûh, where the sand flats of al-Barša, az-Zrejbin, and al-Banâja are to be found. From the oasis of Ġubba the road leads across the dunes Flûk as-Sejî to the settlement of Kna' on the southern edge of the Nefûd. At Kna' there are upwards of twenty cottages, whose inhabitants are subjects of Chief 'Ejâde eben 'Abîce and Chief Ĥalaf al-Kfê'i.

We turned somewhat southward in search of pasture for our starving camels, but found only scorched 'arfeġ. At 5.25 we encamped between two low sand dunes on the border of the Nefûd.³

TROUGH THE NEFÛD TO NEAR ĤABB AZ-ZABB

On January 14, 1915, we set out at 5.55 A. M. in an east-southeasterly direction in order to avoid the dunes. Nâzel asked me if I had any Maria Theresa dollars. In Arabia these are called *rejâl abu šûše*, in reference to the Empress's being represented on them with her head bare; as her braided hair

³ The Arabic authors refer to the Nefûd under the name of 'Aleġ.

Al-Bekri, *Muġam* (Wüstenfeld), pp. 73, 664, states that the sand desert of 'Aleġ first belonged to the Kalb tribe and later on to the Buhtur clan of the Ṭajj tribe; its southwest portion was held by the Fezâra tribe. 'Adi ibn ar-Rikâ', the poet, speaks of the difficulties that attend traveling in this desert, infested as it is by wild beasts nursing their young (*ibid.*). Abu Zijâd al-Kilâbi says that near the station of Zerûd the sand desert of 'Aleġ extends as far as ad-Dahna, a desolate tract between al-Jemâma and al-Bašra (*ibid.*). Ad-Dahna consists entirely of sand dunes (*hibâl*), many of which exceed a mile in width. Between two parallel dunes there usually intervenes a dell reaching occasionally to a width of one parasang and having a flat bottom of rock free from any sand, where various herbs thrive, 'arfeġ prevailing in particular. The edge of the 'Aleġ extends as far as the Heġâz near the Wâdi al-Kura' and Tejma. The Raṭafân and Ṭajj tribes camp on it at times, the latter preferring the region lying to the west of the station of Zerûd and extending as far as the two mountain ranges belonging to the Ṭajj tribe. Farther on are the camps of the tribes of Fezâra, Murra, and Ta'aba of the Dubjân, on the western border of the 'Aleġ. The northern border is in the hands of the Kuḏâ'a tribe. —

In a sand waste sand dunes only and no mountains occur. Consequently, we should read *hibâl* (pl. of *habl*) instead of *ġibâl* (pl. of *ġebel*), as given in the text of al-Bekri in connection with ad-Dahna. Furthermore, ad-Dahna does not reach Zerûd, which is a station on the southern border of the desert of al-Ĥbûb, so called for the many *hbûb*, or stony dells walled in by parallel sand drifts. According to Abu Zijâd al-Kilâbi the western edge of the

is not to be seen, the term *abu šūše* (a person with short hair) is used. Since the autumn of 1914 the *abu šūše* had depreciated in value in the Šammar territory and instead of one and a half *rejāl abu šūše*, as formerly, two *rejāl abu šūše* had to be paid for one *meġġidijje* (90 cents). With Eben Sa'ūd, on the other hand, the *rejāl abu šūše* had not depreciated, "jamši (sic!) mitl bil-awwal (it continues [to have the same value] as before)," as Nāzel said. The Šammar paid their tribute to Eben Rašīd in *rejāl abu šūše*, one *rejāl* for every five camels. This tax, called *zeka*, was not paid by the chiefs. As a rule, out of every clan of any importance forty to eighty men were exempted from the tax. These were men who, at the order of Eben Rašīd, took active part in his military campaigns. Although he gave them arms, ammunition, and riding camels, they received no pay, getting a share of the spoils instead. Each chief was obliged to appear before Eben Rašīd every month or two (*tasjir*). Eben Rašīd relied mainly on his mercenary troops, his slaves, and his settlers. Whenever he

Nefūd forms the eastern boundary of the Heġāz. Various clans of the Raṭafān tribe, such as the Fezāra, Murra, and Ta'labā, camped in the southwestern portion of the Nefūd. The Kalb tribe, belonging to the Kuḏā'a, at the beginning of Islam held nearly the whole eastern half of the sand waste of 'Aleġ and the oasis of Dūmat al-Ġandal (also called Hābt) with the adjoining volcanic zone of ar-Raġla as far as the eastern fringes of the Hawrān (Jākūt, *Mu'ġam* [Wüstenfeld], Vol. 2, p. 248).

As-Sakūni (Jākūt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 591) states that the sand desert of 'Aleġ lies between Fejd and al-Kurejjāt and touches the Pilgrim Road at the station of at-Ta'labijje. This desert is four nights wide and is inhabited by the Beni Buhtur of the Tajj tribe, who cannot be disturbed by attacks, as assailants would find no water. Only after heavy rains the various cisterns are filled with water. According to some the 'Aleġ extends as far as the Wabār. —

The Wabār is an extensive sand waste in the southeastern corner of Arabia. Al-Kurejjāt are settlements in the oasis of al-Ġūba (Dūmat al-Ġandal) on the northern confines of the Nefūd.

The Arabic geographers mention the various parts of the 'Aleġ. Thus Jākūt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 667–669 (Abu-l-Faraġ, *Arāni* [Būlāk, 1285 A. H.], Vol. 11, pp. 86 f.), seeks Dejr Sa'd between the territory of the Raṭafān tribe and Syria. He does so on account of a story he heard of 'Akil ibn 'Ullafa, a lame poet who lived in the days of the caliph 'Abdalmalek and traveled to Syria with his son and daughter. When the poet, traveling via aš-Šamāt, had arrived in the vicinity of Dejr Sa'd, he wounded his son with an arrow and left him behind, leaving his daughter's she-camel at his disposal. He threatened to kill the daughter if she should tell others of what had happened. On the camping ground of the Kejn tribe, at the watering place called Ubajr, 'Akil repented of what he had done and told the Arabs of his son, asking them at the same time to go and rescue him. They forthwith returned on the poet's tracks and found both the she-camel and the wounded son, whom they conveyed to their camp where he recovered his health again. —

Ubajr, a watering place in the territory of the Kejn tribe, must be identical with the present watering place called Bājer, which formerly belonged to the Kejn. It lies to the northwest of the northwestern edge of the Nefūd desert within easy reach of the road leading across the Nefūd from Neġd to Syria. This road passes 'Elejm as-Sa'ad, which may be taken for Dejr Sa'd, as the Raṭafān tribe used to camp in the desert of 'Aleġ, in the vicinity of which the name of aš-Šamāt is one of frequent occurrence.

The identity of Dejr Sa'd with the modern 'Elejm as-Sa'ad is also borne out by Jākūt (*op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 713), who says that 'Alam as-Sa'd and Daġūġ are two lofty hills, or sand dunes which almost touch one another, one march away from the oasis of Dūma. — From the oasis of Dūma, or Dūmat al-Ġandalijje, it is possible to reach 'Elejm as-Sa'ad in one day, traveling on a fast camel. Right opposite rises 'Elejm az-Žuma, with which Daġūġ may be identified.

Again, Jākūt (*op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 554 f.) says that Daġūġ is a sandy waste between 'Alam as-Sa'd, lying within one march of Dūma, and the oasis of Tejma. Extending in a south-westerly direction, the sand desert of Daġūġ is two marches long and terminates in a stony desert, by crossing which the oasis of Tejma may be reached in one day. Jākūt cites al-Rūri

proclaimed a *ğihād* (religious war) against Eben Sa'ūd, he had up to five hundred white tents (*hejme*) in which his men, both cavalry and infantry, lived; but when he made a raid on the Bedouins, the number of white tents amounted to only about one hundred. On such occasions he was accompanied by many Arabs mounted on camels (*ğejš*), for whom tents were never taken. Eben Rašid was obliged to support the mercenaries. The settlers did not pay the *zeka* in money but contributed a definite part of their crops instead, and these contributions in kind were stored away in magazines (*bejt al-mâl*) and were issued again to the slaves and mercenaries. Usually twenty men messed together.

We noticed fresh tracks of gazelles pursued by a wolf. In the morning the wolf's habit is to run about trying to catch a scent of the gazelles. He slinks near them, close against the wind, and waits till they have pastured long enough. Presently he gives chase; but, should he fail to capture one instantly, he has to spend as much as half a day in pursuing

as seeking the sand waste of Dağûğ in the territory of the Kalb tribe; he refers to a certain poet as mentioning the fear which the antelopes that come from the Dağûğ inspire in the hearts of wayfarers, and he quotes al-Aswad as saying that in the sandy waste of Dağûğ, which lies in the territory of the Kalb tribe, there are numerous soft mounds of sand and that the abundant salt herbs form the most convenient pasture (*hamd*) for camels. —

These details are also correct. The name Dağûğ has been preserved in that of the Nawâzi Dağûğ to the southwest of 'Elejm as-Sa'ad. By traveling from here in a south-westerly direction across the sand flats of Dağûğ it is possible in two days to reach the confines of the stony tract of al-Hunfa, by which it is again possible to arrive at the oasis of Tejma after a day's journey. Moreover al-Rûri was correct in placing the northern half of the Nefûd in the territory of the Kalb tribe. Soft mounds of sand (*ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 651) are abundant in the Nefûd desert, as well as herbage of a brackish taste that forms the so-called *hamd*, pasture preferred by camels above anything else.

Jākût (*op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 96) was told by a man coming from the mountains of the Tadj tribe that to the south of the Salma mountains stretches a sand waste called Ğallâl. This desert extends as far as Rawṭa Beni Lâ in the south, al-Liwa in the north, 'Arfağa in the west, and Bağ'a in the east. —

I do not consider Ğallâl the correct name; it is undoubtedly a misspelling for Ḥalâl. Ğallâl is a name unknown both to the ancient authors and to the natives, while Ḥalâl seems to be familiar to some of the ancient authors and to all the natives nowadays. Judging by the boundaries, one must conclude that Ḥalâl denotes the 'Aleğ or present Nefûd. Rawṭa has survived down to our days as a name denoting the southwestern outskirts of the Nefûd. Al-Liwa I locate in the northeastern part of the Nefûd, as it means the same as the present al-Labbe — namely, a tract of stony and sandy plains (*ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 366). 'Arfeğa is a watering place familiar to the Arabic authors, lying near the depression of Sirhân to the northwest of the Nefûd. Bağ'a is the present oasis of Bağ'a (Tajjebt Ism) on the southeastern edge of the Nefûd. The singular number of Ḥalâl has been retained to our times in the name of the Darb al-Hall, a road leading from Syria to Neğd across the Nefûd.

According to Jākût (*op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 1024) the sandy waste of Dağûğ abuts upon the stony plain of al-Jakâ'. — I should prefer to read al-Bakâ', as the stony plain of al-Hunfa which stretches between the sand waste of Dağûğ and the oasis of Tejma is called at the present time.

Jākût (*op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 460) locates the watering places of Mahrama and al-Atîb in the sand plain of ad-Dâhi, which skirts the western base of the Salma mountains. Al-Atîb is said to be situated near the Rammân mountains (*ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 120).

According to Jākût (*op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 86) there is a locality called Serw ar-Ra'î lying among the sandy plains between the territories of the Tadj and Kalb tribes, three nights from the nearest water supply. — This Serw recalls the present Darb as-Sreĵja leading across the eastern part of the Nefûd.

Jākût (*op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 417) mentions a place called as-Şammân near the sand waste of 'Aleğ. In the same place, in a region belonging to the Fezâra tribe, there are two barren sand flats producing no vegetation and called Tûđihân (Jākût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 894).

them. After a full feed gazelles cannot retain urine for a long time but have to interrupt their flight to void water. The buck never leaves the doe alone; if she stops he also makes a stop, but always behind and never in front of her. Thus it is the buck which is most frequently captured by the wolves. A gazelle torn by a wolf is taboo as food; if, however, the animal has been torn to pieces by the panther (*fahad*), it may be eaten. The flesh of the wolf is not prohibited as food.

From 8.10 to 8.40 we rested to the north of the sand hills Tu'ûs al-Mĥejrîât, which rose high above a dense fog enshrouding the lowlands. It was rather cold and we warmed ourselves with hot tea. Nâzel told us that there was never any snow in the Nefûd proper. If snow falls in al-Ĥamâd, there is only hoarfrost in the Nefûd. Such, said he, was the case in the winter of 1911-1912. Nâzel had never seen frozen water in the Nefûd. At 10.08, as we found many green *ĥamât* herbs, we made a stop, starting again at 10.55.

Obejdallâh urged me to taste a dish called *beċîr* which he had carried all the way from al-Ġowf. This dish is prepared with dates and *semĥ* seeds. *Semĥ* must be roasted, ground down, mixed with fresh dates, and kneaded into a paste. *Semĥ* flour absorbs all the juice of the dates, in consequence of which this food keeps good throughout the year. Its taste is insipid but recalls that of chocolate. The Šammar purchase dates in Irak, particularly in the settlements lying between as-Samâwa and az-Zubejrijje near al-Bašra. They mix the dates with cut-up *ba'êtrân*, boil the mixture till the juice evaporates, and then dry and preserve it. They also get even barley for their horses from Irak. For one mare at most one and a half camel loads (about 200 kilograms) are allowed per year. Besides barley, mares also eat *naši* and *ĥašîš* (dry annuals) and drink camel's milk, although, of course, only in the days of plenty.

At 1.48 a stiff east wind rose. At 1.55 the vast sandy plain Nâzjet al-Ĥasne, stretching to the west as far as the Tu'ejs al-Bnejje, lay on our right. Beyond it rose the sand knolls defining the Nâzjet an-Namlijjât, while in front of us were the dunes of an-Nwejġa, among which we made camp at 3.10.

Nâzel repeatedly inquired as to how much longer the winter season of rains would last, for he was very much afraid of rains. Thus we began to discuss the divisions of the year.

With the Šammar the year begins with November, or *ʿašûr*, as they call it. In this month the first grasses spring up. The months of December, January, February, and March are called *al-atwâm*. The month that precedes *ramazân* is called *al-kşajjer*. *Ramazân* and the following two months are called *al-aftâr*. The year is divided into the following seasons: *šta*, *rabîʿ*, *şejf*, *kejz*, and *şferî*. The duration of *rabîʿ* (spring, or the period of plenty) is very indefinite, as it is dependent on the rainfall. According to the Šammar *rabîʿ* sometimes may begin in *ʿašûr* (November) and last until April; sometimes it may begin as late as February or even March, and there are occasional years when there is no *rabîʿ* at all. As a rule three months are comprised in *rabîʿ* (from the end of February till the beginning of May). *Šta*, or the rainy period, consists of two halves: the first lasts from about the beginning of December to the second half of January, whereas the second ends about the beginning of March. In *šta* the Singâra prefer to camp (*maşâtina*) in al-Baṭen and Fejhân, though of course only if the ponds and wells are full of rain water. In *rabîʿ* they camp (*marbaʿna*) in al-Heğera; in *şejf*, or early summer, they camp (*maşifana*) about the Ab-ar-Rwât; in *kejz*, or mid-summer, they camp (*makîz*) in the neighborhood of al-Ḥẓûl; and in *şferî*, or autumn, they camp (*maşfarna*) along the river Euphrates.

On January 15, 1915, we mounted our camels at 5.55. Some raindrops fell at intervals during the night; however, we did not put up our tents. The stiff east wind did not abate, and there was lightning to the south. Nâzel asserted that it rains in an-Nefûd after an easterly wind. Our guest came to thank us for the food we had given him and to ask us for permission to load his belongings on our camels. His name was Muḥammad and he was fifty-four years of age. His birth-place was the settlement of Barka in ʿOmân and he had left his wife and children in order to travel through the world. From ʿOmân he had walked on foot to Yemen, sailed from ʿAden to India, traversed the latter from south to north, arrived at Bagdad by way of Afghanistan and Persia, proceeded to Mosul and thence to Diarbekr, Aleppo, and Damascus. From Damascus he had gone by train to al-Medîna; whence he had walked to Mecca, only to return to Damascus, there to join a small clan of the Šarârât, with which he had arrived near al-Ğowf, where he had spent thirty days waiting until Allâh

should send us in his way. He had a small wooden box with various odds and ends and a leather pouch containing some eight kilograms of flour. Water he carried in another small pouch. He was never known to beg and never thrust himself upon us. He would build his fire a short distance away from us and sleep by it. I often invited him to mount a camel for a while, but he always refused to do so, declaring that Allâh had given him a pair of good feet. All he wished me to do for him was to have him put on a camel, should he be taken ill.

I spoke with Nâzel about 'Awde abu Tâjeh, the head chief of the Hwêtât tribe. He praised his pluck, but otherwise had not much esteem either for him or for his tribe.

"O Mûsa, Eben Ša'lân would never permit his daughter or sister to marry a Hwêti or 'Atiwi, even if his name were 'Awde abu Tâjeh or should he be the richest chief of the Beni 'Atijje. Some sixty years ago, in the days of my grandfather, the Hwêtât and Beni 'Atijje still paid a tax to the Šarârât for protection (*hawa*). They were contented if they were allowed to camp as neighbors (*kušara*) under the protection of others. Such things are not easily forgotten among us, and for that reason Eben Ša'lân will not mix his blood with a descendant of such cowardly ancestors."

From 8.00 to 8.27 our camels grazed. The wind blew from the southeast. At 9.48 we reached the small sand flats Nwejjizjât al-Mahâlîl, which mark the northern boundary of the sand waste of aš-Šrufa.

Here and there to the north and east there emerged above the sand the level rocks constituting the Ḥazm al-Ma' (or Ḥazm az-Zuma'), which falls off to the north as the Ġâl ar-Ra'an in a fairly steep slope to the desolate plain of az-Zhawa. This *ḥazm* (long, flat-topped ridge) is traversed in a northeasterly direction by the dells Ḥabb 'Atîž, Ḥabb az-Zabb, and Ḥabb al-Ġerdân. Ḥabb 'Atîž begins near the Nwejjizjât al-Mahâlîl and terminates to the southwest of the rocks of Ḥašm Ġabd. In the Ḥabb al-Ġerdân, to the east of the Ḥabb az-Zabb, begins the valley of Ab-ar-Rwât, which winds to the northeast between the rocky plain of al-Krajje on the east and the hills of ad-Drajje'ât on the west. In this valley three wells of moderate capacity are to be found—al-Ḥawša, Umm al-'Awâžîl, and 'Aġûlat Miš'el—and the water holes Raḍîr al-Bowli and ar-Radife. To the west of the latter is the little pond Kasr Eben Ġandal, filled with water only after particularly heavy rains.

As a slight shower set in at eleven o'clock we rested until 11.48.

Nâzel made mention of Ġwâd, the scribe employed by Prince an-Nûri eben Ša'lân, saying that it is possible to tell

from the mere name of a person where he comes from. Thus Ġwâd indicates that the man bearing such a name comes from Irak or from the Euphrates valley. There is not a single Bedouin in the entire desert of Arabia with this name. The names of prophets or their relatives are used only in the families of chiefs or by slaves. The Bedouins do not like such names. They affect names recalling the various animals of the desert, or herbs, wells, elements of natural scenery, customs, and the like. As a rule, every child brings its own name into the world, and for that reason the mother carefully watches the events of the outside world as well as her own movements. The mother of Nâzel gave birth to him during migration. She was seated inside a small litter (*kenn*), where there was very little room for her. Wishing to stop and alight, she heard her maid call out to her: "Dûhi has selected a pitch for the tent (*Dûhi nâzel*)."¹ Dûhi was her husband. She allowed herself to be carried a short distance farther and then gave birth to a boy, whom she called Nâzel. When the mother of an-Nûri was in labor, her tent was entered by a gipsy woman, one of those called *nwar*. The gipsy gave her greeting to the mother, who subsequently gave birth to a boy whom she called an-Nûri.

We startled a few *habâri* (bustards) about the size of a small hen; these birds can neither run nor fly very well. Nâzel regretted that he had not his falcon or his *sleke* bitch with him. Falcons are captured in the Salma and Eġa' mountains and trained twice a day, first when the dew has passed away (*zaĥa*) and again when the sun is sinking (*ʿaṣr*). From az-Zubejr and al-Kwejt well trained thoroughbred falcons are brought to the market and sold at three to fifteen Turkish pounds (\$ 13.50—67.50) each. These falcons are much steadier and more useful than those reared at home by the Šammar. The greyhound is called *selki*, *sluki*, or *selûki*, and the bitch, *sleke* or *selka*. Some of the settlers rear greyhounds, which they afterwards sell at high prices. The falcon and the greyhound cost a great deal of money and much care and are of very little use in return. They are more suited to afford sport to the chiefs than for service to a mere Bedouin. If the Bedouin himself is not a good hunter he engages a Šlubi to hunt for him in midsummer (*kejz*) and gives him a young she-camel for the sixty to eighty gazelles which a hunter usually manages to kill. The Šlubi lies face down, covers himself with

green *arṭa* or *raza* twigs, and creeps near the gazelles. Not infrequently he captures as many as eight of these animals, which the Bedouin divides among his kinsfolk, who, in their turn, give their relative compensation when he himself has nothing left.

Hunting proper, however, commences for the Bedouin in war, which he wages merely for the sake of the spoils. The Šammar have a saying that raids are their agriculture. As the *fellâh* devotes himself more or less to his fields and crops all the year round, so the Bedouin spends his year in raids. In the rainy season (*šta*) small groups of raiders numbering from fifteen to forty men set forth to make incursions. In the days of abundance (*rabî*), when there is enough water and pasture and the Arabs keep their encampments near one another, Eben Rašid used to proceed on great expeditions with banners flying. In *šejf* (early summer) and *kejz* (midsummer), when water is scarce and the camels in pasture frequently venture a good distance from the camp, war expeditions are made only on camels, always with at least a hundred riders on fifty animals.

We were joined by a tiny gray bird that soared up in spirals singing a little song as it did so. Nâzel told us that its name was *umm sâlem* and that it was seeking its little son.

Hmêra, our brown she-camel, could not proceed any farther. The whole way from al-Ġowf she had carried no load and yet kept insisting on kneeling down. After we had made camp at 2.44 Nâşer and Mañşûr killed the animal. When they were laying her neck on the ground preparatory to cutting it, she turned her melancholy eyes towards us. She was very emaciated and her flesh was so tough that even after five hours, boiling it did not become tender. We put some ten kilograms of her meat on our other camels but flung it all away two days later, for it was impossible either by roasting or boiling to make it tender, there being no fat in it.

NEAR ḤABB AZ-ZABB TO ḤABB AL-ĠERDÂN

On January 16, 1915, we got very little sleep after midnight. A few raindrops fell at intervals. Some beast of prey scented the blood of the slain animal, approached our encampment, and frightened our camels. At three o'clock a stiff wind rose from the west and dispersed the rain. At six o'clock we

started southeast. The wind abated. At 6.50 the beginning of the Ḥabb az-Zabb lay on our left. The word *ḥabb* is employed in the Nefūd to designate a long, narrow strip of stony ground lined on either side by sand dunes. At seven o'clock the wind ceased again. At 8.20 we found many *saḥam*, or straw-like plants called *ṣollejân* when small and green. The camels were in pasture until 8.50. Besides *ṣollejân* there is plenty of *ḥaršaf* to be found in the Ḥabb az-Zabb. The white leaves of this plant have many prickles. Furthermore, there were also growing there: *naši*, *da'lūk al-mṭi* (with its white twigs), *heġîn*, *met-nân*, *âder*, *arṭa*, *ḥamât* (which forms small bunches with stems resembling straw), *meṣṣê* (which recalls our sedge), the prickly *mrâr*, *alḳa* (which resembles *heġîn* but is slightly taller), and *arfeġ* (which forms dense subshrubs that retain sand, producing small knolls). *Arfeġ* thrives best in stony ground when protected by a layer of sand from being dried up too suddenly. The seeds of *arfeġ* smell like the finest frankincense.

At 10.25 a stiff west wind rose. Between 11.15 and 12.00 we took our lunch.

Nâzel asserted what I had already heard from members of other tribes, namely that the hyena can fertilize a woman, or a man the female hyena. The Zbâ'in clan of the Šarârât tribe is said to have sprung from a boy, the son of a Šarâri and a she-hyena. The latter suckled the child for over two years, then led it to the camp where the Šarârî lived, and here deserted it. There is a story of a Šammari of the Sin-ġâra ("wâḥiden min 'arabna, some one of our Arabs," as Nâzel put it) who, overtaken by a great storm, sought shelter in a gorge where he discovered a hyena. He lay with her and she gave birth to a girl, whom he buried in the sand. The flesh of the hyena may be eaten and tastes very good. At 4.10 we encamped near the Ḥabb az-Zabb.

On January 17, 1915, we started at 5.55. A heavy dew fell and changed into hoarfrost on all exposed surfaces. At 8.50 we passed artificial dams of masonry designed to intercept the run-off. In front of us a rocky slope, in the various cavities of which water collects, extended to the south-southeast. This slope measures many hundreds of kilometers in length and forms the eastern border of the Nefūd. When it rains the wayfarer here will find water everywhere. In the absence of rain he will perish of thirst. For this reason this rocky slope is called the Ḥazm al-Ma' (Ridge of Water) or

Ḥazm az-Zuma' (Ridge of Thirst). We were suffering from a lack of water and therefore eagerly awaiting the sign from Nâzel, whom we had sent ahead to look for water in the rocks. He appeared again after half an hour and induced his camel to make short bounds, as the Bedouins do when defiling before their war leader to whom they assure their loyalty, *ju'arrez* (sic!). It was a signal that he had discovered water.

At 10.39 we dismounted at the pools of as-Šamijjât. These are shallow holes in a level face of rock and they were full of rain water. We had to hold the camels back lest they foul the water before we could fill our water bags; then, relieving them of their loads, we allowed them to quench their thirst at ease. Afterwards I washed myself for the first time since the second of December. When this was over I sat down in the sun and picked lice out of my clothes. At two o'clock we started again. The thermometer registered 15.8° C.

At three o'clock the wells Ġebw as-Šamijjât, situated in the rocky ridge, lay to the east-northeast about three kilometers away. *Ġebw* is a term meaning a natural water hole in a face of rock in which rain water collects to a depth not exceeding two meters. Not infrequently it is possible to stop such a hole with a big stone. Farther to the northwest there are two similar wells, called Ġebw al-Aṭawijjât and al-Ka'idât respectively. To the southeast are the wells of al-Ġerdijjât, al-Ġeba', al-Ḥefne, al-Mačmen, az-Zab'ijjât, ar-Rimtijjât, al-Bûmijjât, at-Trajja, ar-Rabda, ar-Rummâdijjât, al-Ḥammâtijjât, al-Kdêrât, al-Ḥalifijje, at-Tînijjât, al-Āčer, and al-Ḥise, the last lying west of at-Ta'labijje and the Pilgrim Road from Irak.

To the west we saw the vast sandy plains Nawâzi umm ar-Rilân, and in front of us lay the Nâzjet umm Ḥrejzi, which bounds the sand desert of az-Zâhi on the east. At 3.35 the beginning of the Ḥabb al-Ġerdân, in which the *še'ib* of Ab-ar-Rwât originates, was to our left, several hundred meters away. Nâzel recollected how, six years before, his Singâra and the Duṛmân of the Rwala had camped in the district we were traversing, how many good friends and acquaintances he had among them, and how, two years later, he had fought against the same Duṛmân and had slain six of them near Zubâla on the Pilgrim Road leading from al-Kûfa. He went on to wish that I might succeed in inducing Sa'ûd, the min-

ister of Eben Rašid, to make peace, and he assured me of the assistance of Chief Fahad eben Tnejjân, his cousin. At 4.08 we made camp. Nâzel traced in the sand the surroundings of the valleys of al-Ĥerr and Ab-ar-Rwât, which join one another. In the evening we determined the latitude.

WÂDÎ AL-ĤERR AND VICINITY

The drainage basin of Wâdî al-Ĥerr is not very wide. On the north-west the watershed is formed by the Ḥašm Ćabd, Kârt al-Mšâwri, at-Twejż, al-Ka'abât, al-Msâdde, Ḥašm al-Ṛarra, Kûr al-Ĥwejmer, al-Lisân, and Târ as-Sejhed (or aş-Sejhed), and on the southeast by Ṛarra Sa'ejd, Riġm 'Alejje, Kwejrât al-Mwejġât, al-Ġlê'id, Lumejma, al-Ġawnên, al-Ġirtmi, 'Akkâš, and as-Swejže. The upper part of al-Ĥerr is joined by the *še'ib* of Ab-ar-Rwât, which on the right side is entered by the *še'ib* of al-Metâwer issuing from the Riġm Hazzâ' and the Nâzjet as-Sâdde to the south. A shorter *še'ib*, which is known as Ĥerr Mas'ûd and has a deep channel, terminates in the Kasr Ambaţ to the west of the Riġm Hazzâ'. This *še'ib* begins to the northeast of the deserted fort of 'Adfa, situated on the slope of Ḥazm az-Zuma', and to the eastward borders the plain of al-Krajje and the elongated spur of the Ḥašm Šennâr.⁴

An-Na'âm, another still shorter *še'ib*, winds to the east of the Kasr Ambaţ. It extends from the rain well Ġebw ad-Dmejte to the wells Ḥalâjeţ aş-Šwejme, situated on the plain of az-Zhawa to the west of the Nâzjet as-Sâdde. In the *še'ib* of Ab-ar-Rwât to the northeast of the Raḍir ar-Radife water may be obtained from the 'Okêlt as-Shejl, ad-Dwejdât, and al-Baṭṭa, the last being a pool of rain water. On the right, Wâdî al-Ĥerr is joined by the *še'ibân* of al-Jidejje, which rise in Ṛarra Sa'ejd and Riġm 'Alejje. To the north of these valleys stretches the stony plain of Dârat al-Zalte, which is bounded on the north by the Nâzjet as-Sâdde and to the northeast communicates with a similar plain called az-Zhawa. The latter is closed on the northeast by the table mountains of Kwejrât al-Mwejġât. These, together with the northern mesa of Faz'a, belong to the district of al-Ĥzûl. In this district there are the following wells of spring water: al-Hebeke, al-Hubejče, ar-Raġ'a, and al-Mindassa, besides the rain wells of al-Boṛdâdi in the large plain of as-Selmâniġje. Nâzel knew a subterranean passage (*ḥalîẓa* or *sirdâb*) discovered by a Şlubi about forty years previously at the mesa of Faz'a. The wells of al-Hebeke originally belonged to the family of Eben Bnejje of the Ša'lân. From the Kârt al-Mšâwri on the west this large plain extends as far as

⁴ Both the Ḥašm Šennâr and the Kasr Ambaţ are recorded in Arabic literature.

Jâkût, *Mu'ġam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 1, pp. 369f., states that Ambaţ is a place belonging to the Kalb ibn Wabra tribe, citing the poet Ibn Harma, who asks to whom the pastures of Ḥâjel and al-Anbaţ belong. —

Ḥâjel, in 1915 the seat of Eben Rašid, lies almost due south of our Kasr Ambaţ. On occasions the Kalb came with their flocks and herds as far as the vicinity of Ḥâjel, but they have never established any permanent settlements in this region.

Ibn al-'Addâ'i (Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 874) speaks of Anbaţ, a camping ground, together with another camping ground called ar-Rawd, both to the east of Wâhed.

According to Jâkût (*ibid.*) Wâhed is a mountain in the territory of the Kalb. — The Gaw ar-Rowz lies to the northeast within about 125 kilometers of the Kasr Ambaţ.

Jâkût (*op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 419), refers to Šennâr, a locality in the territory of the Kalb tribe in Syria.

the Kârt al-Ġlê'id, where the plain of Ummu-r-Rġâm begins. North of al-Bordâdi is the Ĥišt at-Towr, a ridge which extends north to Wâdi al-Ĥerr, bounding the plain of aš-Šir on the south. The eastern foot of this ridge is skirted by the *še'ib* of az-Za'tri, in which is the subterranean cavern Dahl aš-Šdâd. When rains are heavy the water overflows the *dahl* and floods the valley of al-Ĥerr, almost reaching the base of the Kârat Lumejma. To the north and east of the *dahl* extends the plain of aš-Šahn, in the eastern portion of which is situated the watering place of al-Ma'ânijje. The Ġaw aš-Šejh, also in aš-Šahn, lies in the river bed of al-Ĥerr. On the north the plain of aš-Šahn is defined by the Kûr al-Žareh, among which winds Wâdi al-Ĥerr, which then continues farther north through al-Azare'. Still farther north al-Ĥerr reaches the scarp Ġâl al-Kâhijje and penetrates the plain of al-'Ašûrijje, which derives its name from a watering place at the northeastern base of al-Kâhijje. At the northwestern base of Ġâl al-Kâhijje are the Temilt al-Mesâme and al-Hwâba, two wells containing rain water. On the plain to the north of these and to the northeast of where the table mountain of at-Twejž ends, lies the spring water well of al-Amrar. Between this and the watering place of al-'Ašûrijje the hill of al-Hmejrîn rises above the channel of al-Ĥerr. To the northeast of al-'Ašûrijje, on the southwestern extremity of the Kârt aš-Šhaba, is the watering place of aš-Šammit, and to the north of this in close proximity to al-Ĥerr is that of al-Loşof.⁵

To the north of al-Loşof rise the table mountains of al-Leben and al-Rurâbijje, which form the southern boundary of the district of az-Zôr. To the east of al-Rurâbijje the wells of al-Brejber, containing rain water, are to be found in the channel of the Wâdi al-Ĥerr, and to the west of these is the watering place of al-Barrit.⁶

To the east of the Ġâl al-Kâhijje is the important rain pond Ĥabra Sejkal into which the water from the plain of al-Megâmer drains.

Wâdi al-Ĥerr,⁷ or more properly its western watershed, is believed

⁵ At-Tabari, *Ta'rîkh* (De Goeje), Ser. 2, p. 978, states that the watering place of al-Lasaf belonged to the same clan as that from which Jazid ibn Nu'eim abu Sabib, who joined the Kharijites, was descended. In 695 Sabib attacked al-Fazr of the Šalt clan, his relative and antagonist, who at that time was encamped by the watering place of al-Lasaf. Al-Fazr wished to flee to the desert and, screened by the tents, mounted a horse, which, however, was unable to keep pace with the rest. Seeing this, he turned towards al-Kuṭkuṭâne, thence to Kaşr Mukâtel, thence to the river Euphrates, and then via al-Ḥaşşâsa to al-Anbâr (*ibid.*, pp. 915f.).—

Al-Kuṭkuṭâne lies within some sixty kilometers to the northeast of our al-Loşof. Al-Ḥaşşâsa was a settlement in the vicinity of Kaşr Ibn Hubejra (Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 274; Abu-l-Fadâ'il, *Marâsid* [Juynboll], Vol. 1, p. 305).

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 357, states that al-Lasaf, a watering place, lies to the west of the Pilgrim Road, between al-Murîta and al-'Aḳaba, within three miles of aš-Šammit.

⁶ Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 599, refers to al-Birrit, a sandy place in the desert, citing Naşr as stating that al-Birrit is a watering place belonging to the Kalb tribe in Syria.

Abu-l-Fadâ'il, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 149, was of the opinion that al-Birrit is either a place in the sandy desert marked by extensive ridges or a watering place that belongs to the Kalb tribe.—

All these statements are correct, as the watering place of al-Barrit is situated in a country full of extensive ridges among which sand dunes occur here and there. It is, of course, very far from Syria, but Abu-l-Fadâ'il, who frequently corrects Jâkût, omitted this indication of the locality. It is interesting to note that, according to Naşr, in the twelfth century the pasture lands of the Kalb reached as far as al-Barrit.

⁷ Al-Ĥerr is the ancient al-Hurr.

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 421, 849; Vol. 3, p. 587, states that the valley of al-Hurr lies in the territory of the Kalb tribe, as Ibn al-'Addâ'i, a member of this tribe, speaks very highly of the encampment in the Rowdet as-Hurr, where camels find plenty of pasture and water in the spring. Allusion is also made to the water of Hurr in connection with 'Asem, a watering place in the territory of the Kalb in Syria.—

The Rowdet al-Hurr of Jâkût may be identical with our Wâdi al-Ĥerr, the water of Hurr being the Ḥesjan al-Ĥerr or some other well.

by the Bedouins to form the western boundary of the district of al-Ĥeġera and at the same time the northern border of Neġd; this boundary diverges to the northeast from the northeastern extremity of the Nefûd and terminates at the town of an-Neġef, or Mešhed 'Ali.

ĤABB AL-ĞERDÂN TO ĤABB ŞAHĤA

On January 18, 1915, we started at 5.38. At seven o'clock Nâzel drew my attention to a low dome projecting from the slope of Ĥazm al-Ma' and surmounting the well Ĥebw al-Ĥeba'. From 7.00 to 7.19 our camels grazed on luxuriant *raza*. There was no holding back my black camel, so reckless was she in her haste to get at the *raza*. At 8.08 the sand knoll Tu'ejs al-We'el was some two kilometers away in front of us.

We noticed the tracks of a large lizard in the sand. Nâzel said that they marked the passage of the *zabb*, a lizard that not infrequently weighs as much as five kilograms. It is hunted by the Bedouin, roasted in hot sand, and eaten. Its eggs are also very palatable. The *waral* is another large lizard, though smaller than the *zabb*. At 9.10 the plain Nâzjet 'Adfa revealed to our view its sands, tinged with pale red. On the edge of this plain Muĥammad eben Rašîd had built a small fort and sunk a deep well. Two or three sentinels were always assigned to this fort to guard the surrounding country, report on incursions, and lend the *delw* (a leather bucket) to the wayfarers, that with it they might help themselves to water.

The fort lies where the road leading from al-Ĥašîm via al-Ĥajjânijje and Dûmat al-Ĥandalijje to Syria crosses another road running from the oasis of Ĥubba in the Nefûd northeastward to the important camping grounds called al-Ĥzûl (with the wells of al-Hebeke and al-Hubejċe) and thence to Irak.⁸

'Adfa may be reached from Ĥubba by making a detour by way of the wells of al-Ĥafîr and al-Ĥafar, or one may supply oneself with enough water for two days and strike out to the northeast straight to the well of Arċejjân. If a person proceeds in this direction, he will leave the Nâzjet al-Ĥaġm to the east, traverse the Nâzjet 'Atra, skirt the Te'es al-'Akâb, and sight the sandy plains of al-Mrara and az-Zbedânât to the west and the sand dunes of al-Ĥeġelât and the Tu'ejs as-Sakra to the east; he will then be able to water his beast from the well of Arċejjân, which is surrounded by sand dunes.⁹

⁸ This camping ground was also familiar to Jâkût (*op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 949), who states that the watering place of Hubakât belonged to the Kalb tribe.

⁹ Near 'Adfa I locate the ancient roads: Meġkeb, Tuċejb, and Ġûšijje. Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 931, employs Tuċejb as a name for the road leading from the station of at-Ta'labijje to Syria.

At 9.20 we saw a heap of stones that marked the wells Ġebw al-Ĥefne lying east-northeast of us. A startled *ṣarbûn* crossed our way. The *ṣarbûn* is a rodent about fifty centimeters long, twenty centimeters high, brown on the back and black underneath, and has a pointed head. It is a rather bad runner. Its food consists of roots and seeds. The flesh is edible but emits a somewhat offensive smell. After a while we frightened our first hare, which immediately hid itself under branches of dry *arṭa* from which it could scarcely be distinguished. I shot it on the spot. It was about the size of the wild rabbit of Europe, and its coat had a pale red tint.

From 10.02 to 1.02 our camels grazed. Nâzel in that time drew for me the environs of al-Ĥerr as far as al-Ķâdesijje. At two o'clock we noticed the fresh tracks of seven adult antelopes and of one young one (*baḳar al-maha' wa 'eġġel*). At 3.30 the fort of 'Adfa lay about ten kilometers away to the northeast, and at four o'clock we made camp.

On January 19, 1915, we were under way at 5.32. A chilly wind blew from the southeast. From 7.10 to 7.27 our camels were in pasture. We found a few ostrich eggshells. The perennials *ḥamât*, *'alḳa*, and *soboṭ* were in bloom. At 9.40 the Nawâzi umm Serîm were in front of us, the Nawâzi-z-Zbedânât (called Zbedânâj by the Šammar) lay to the west on our right, and the Ṭe'es al-'Aḳâb to the southwest. Our camels waded with difficulty through the sand; hence we relieved them of their loads at 10.25 and allowed them to graze at ease. My servant Manšûr had lost his gun and ammunition. Accompanied by Nâzel I returned on Manšûr's tracks in order to recover the weapon. Sitting on bare saddles we rode at a trot,

In the same work, Vol. 2, p. 154, we read that the locality of Ġûšijje lies between Neġd and Syria on the road by which 'Adi ibn Ḥâtem fled to Syria when the troops of the Prophet invaded the territory of the Ṭajj tribe. — Jâkût means the expedition led by 'Ali ibn Abi Ṭaleb in 630—631 A. D. 'Ali followed the later Pilgrim Road to the station of Fejd and wrecked the idol of Fuls in some settlement that belonged to the Ḥâtem kin of the Ṭajj tribe, of which 'Adi was the chief (Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaḳât* [Sachau], Vol. 1, Part 2, p. 118; al-Wâkedî, *Ma'âzi* [Wellhausen], pp. 389 f.; at-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 1, p. 1707).

Ṭulejḥa, the prophet, fled by the same road at the beginning of 633 (at-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 1, p. 1891). —

From the territory of the Ṭajj tribe it was possible to escape to Syria in three different directions: either to the west by way of the oasis of Tejma, to the north by way of the oasis of Gubba, or, finally, to the northeast by way of the watering place of al-Ḥajjâniyye. Both in 630—631 and 632—633 there must have been a Moslem garrison in Tejma; in consequence, flight in this direction would have been fraught with considerable danger.

The road which crossed the oasis of Gubba traversed the sandy desert of 'Aleġ, or the Nefûd as it is called in modern times, and for that reason was and has always been very laborious for horses. Ṭulejḥa, the prophet, fled on horseback, his wife on a camel, and it is difficult to believe that they took this route. For this reason we must seek the road of al-Ġûšijje in the eastern part of the Nefûd, in the route which now passes by the watering place of al-Ḥajjâniyye. Besides, it has not yet been ascertained what the exact extent of Syria in those times was considered to be. Judging by various localities mentioned it seems that the whole territory of the Kalb tribe was held to belong to Syria. The Kalb controlled the eastern half of the Nefûd and, to all appearances, the modern oasis of Baḳ'a' as well.

Nâzel on his white, I on my black camel. The gun was found by Nâzel some twelve kilometers back from the spot where we had rested. On our unexpected return we found our companions fast asleep and our camels left unguarded. I gave orders to load up without delay, and at four o'clock we resumed our march over the steep high sand dunes. Traveling all on foot we came across many fresh antelope tracks, and at 5.30 we encamped in a deep pit between sandy slopes where we could build a big blaze with the dry *raza* and *arġa* branches, of which there was a great abundance. Many boughs and trunks of the *raza* measured as much as twenty centimeters in diameter.

On January 20, 1915, we started at 5.27 and proceeded to the east-southeast. At first we traveled on foot, as a faint but very chilly wind blew from the east. It rained from 7.00 to 7.20. At 7.42 we reached the end of the *raza* shrubs. The Nawâzi al-ʿAġâjez stretched to the east-southeast. The hollows (*kaʿar*), which are enclosed by sand slopes and which we were avoiding, here extend from west-southwest to east-northeast. The deepest part of each hollow is at the southwestern edge where the sand wall that encloses it is the steepest; this wall, however, is not the highest, that being found at the northeastern corner. At 8.30 the elevation of al-Ṙarra rose shining to the east-northeast, the Teʿes Saʿêd, a lofty sand hill, emerged above the Nawâzi al-ʿAġâjez to the east-southeast, and beyond this the Nawâzi az-Zullijjât, on which *raza* thrives, appeared to the south-southeast. The long Wâdi al-Ḥerr, which terminates at the Euphrates, begins close by the Nawâzi al-ʿAġâjez, within some six kilometers of our route. At 9.48 we passed on our left a hollow (*kaʿara*) that reached to the solid ground beneath the sand at a depth of only twenty-five meters. Therefore the layer of sand that covers the country cannot greatly exceed this depth.

Fresh grasses were springing up all around us and the perennials *arġa*, *hamât*, and *âder* were fresh. Old withered *âder* is called *slejĥ*. "If the Nefûd only had enough water, it would be paradise itself for the Bedouins," said Nâzel. The Nefûd is all overgrown with perennials and annuals, very few tracts being completely bare.

From 10.55 to 12.25 our camels grazed. At 1.20 the white table mountain of al-Ṙarra, at which Wâdi al-Ḥerr begins, was hardly five kilometers away to the north. At two o'clock

we entered the Ḥabb Ṣaḥḥa, on the northern side of which, farther east, rises the isolated hill of al-Mindass, indicating to the wayfarer the watering place Ġaw Ṭarfa',¹⁰ which is situated under the projecting al-Ḥašme not far to the east of al-Mindass.

To the northeast of Ṭarfa' are the wells Ġebw ar-Rabda, al-ʿAmâri, at-Tîniġġât, ʿAnejze, and Zaġma, all situated at the eastern base of the ʔarra Saʿejd and its northern spur, Riġm ʿAlejje. To the southeast of the northeastern extremity of ʔarra Saʿejd extend the hills of aš-Šlê'a, al-ʿAkrab, and Ġel'ad aš-Šlejġ, and in these head the *še'ibân* of al-Ḥadd, Ab-al-Ġidd, al-ʿĒweġ, and al-Afjaġ, which terminate in the lowland of Nhejrîr al-Hejra to the west of the pilgrim station of Zubâla. In the lower portion of the valley of Ab-al-Ġidd is the Radîr al-Mḥawa', to the west of which lies the rain pond Ḥabra Eben Zel'ân. Near the valley of al-Afjaġ the spring water well of Kejşûma is situated. North of where al-Afjaġ terminates the wells of Umm al-ʿAwâzil, ar-Rowz, and Lowka are to be found.¹¹ To the east of al-Afjaġ winds the valley of Fejġân.¹²

At 2.42 a violent, cold east wind rose and caused considerable irritation to my left eye, which was inflamed and swollen. At 3.45 Nâzel indicated to the east the position of the watering station Ġaw Ṭarfa', which consists of wells of great age situated in a gap of the Ḥazm al-Ma'. In front of these and nearer to us he pointed out the Ġebw at-Trajja and the Ġebw al-Ešêžer. At 4.25 we encamped in the Ḥabb Ṣaḥḥa.

ḤABB ṢAḤḤA TO AL-ḤAJJÂNĪJE

My companions were glad that on January 20 the first half of winter (*marbaʿaniġje*) ends. This half coincides with the period during which camels rut, lasting from December 11 to January 20. The wool coat may be discarded on January 21; there is no winter proper any longer. Flies, bees, and reptiles all leave their winter coverts and take a new lease of life.

Nâzel did not pronounce the palatal *k* as *č* (English *ch*) as the Rwala do but as the Czech *c* (English *ts*, as in *tsetse*).

¹⁰ In the watering station Ġaw Ṭarfa' I recognize the wells of at-Ṭarfa' referred to in Abu-l-Faraġ, *Arâni* (Bulâk, 1285 A.H.), Vol. 9, p. 179. Prince an-Noʿmân ibn al-Mundîr (580–602 A.D.) sent a troop of warriors of the Tarleb tribe mounted on camels to the mountains belonging to the Tajj tribe, to carry out his orders. They encamped by at-Ṭarfa', a watering station of the Beni Šejbân and Tajmallât. The latter prevented them from getting to the water and defeated and drove them into the desert, where they died of thirst.

¹¹ Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 370, states that the deep wells of al-Lawka lie near al-Liwa', between the two mountain ridges that belong to the Tajj tribe and the station of Zubâla. — Al-Liwa' is the modern al-Labbe, which forms the northeastern fringe of the Nefûd. The station of Zubâla lies nearly sixty kilometers to the southeast of al-Lawka.

¹² The poet Ġarîr alludes to a march from as-Sahba to Fejġân, al-Ḥazn, aš-Šammân, and al-Wakaf (Jâkût, *op. cit.*, p. 938). — The table-topped ridge of al-Ḥazn bounds the depression of Fejġân, and hence we may identify it with the valley of Fejġân referred to by Ġarîr.

"We want to mount a camel" in the language of the Šammar is *henna nabi narcab*, but in that of the Rwala it is *henna nabri narčab*. Palatal *k* is not sounded as *ž* (English *z* in *azure*) but as a lisped *s*. The ending of feminine plurals is not *ât* but *âj* (e.g., *halîfijjât* changes into *halîfijjâj*). He ended every preterite verb in the third person plural in *aw* (e.g., "they attacked them in the morning," *šabbahawhom šubh*; or, again, "they sought refuge with an-Nûri," *zabbanaw 'ala-n-nûri*). Prefixes of the present tense were pronounced by him with *a* (e.g., "men are screaming, women are screaming," *jašihûn wa-l-ħarîm jašihen*). In pronouncing monosyllabic words he invariably stressed the article (e.g., *âl-ħabb*, *ât-tôb*, *âl-ħašš*, *âl-ħess*). Every tribe and even every individual clan of the Šammar has its own dialect, called *lisân*. ("*Esmâ' ħaçi blisân ad-drêrât*, listen to a chat in the Dêrât dialect.")

On January 21, 1915, we left our camp at 5.29. A light but cold wind again blew from the east and the sky was clear; there was no sign of dew.

At 6.25 Nâzel drew my attention to a heap of stones (*riġm*) rising almost due east by the Ġebw al-Ešêžer, and to the southeast of this he indicated the Tu'ejs Sirwe and Tu'ejs ummu Ġnejje. To the west and north-west of these stretch the sandy plains of az-Zullijjât and al-Ĥrejzi, the latter deriving its name from a well of spring water that lies almost due south of the Te'es Sa'êd. Still farther south is a similar well called al-Aṭwa'. To the southwest of al-Aṭwa' is yet another well, aš-Šejbâni, by which the Ĥabb al-'Adâm terminates. To the east of al-Aṭwa' and to the south of the Tu'ejs ummu Ġnejje are the Te'es al-Ķe'es, Te'es abu Râsên, and to the east of these the Tu'ûs al-Meġles.

We were traversing the outskirts of the Nefûd. As far as *raza* grows, the sandy waste is called an-Nefûd by the Šammar; where the *raza* ends the Nefûd also ends and al-Labbe begins. The layer of sand is so thin in al-Labbe that *raza* has not sufficient depth for its long roots; *arṭa* and 'arfeġ thrive in its place.

At 6.35 the rays of the rising sun struck the white hill of al-Mindass, below which the *ħabb* issuing from the Ġebw at-Trajja unites with the Ĥabb Šaħħa. We were traversing a rocky plain leveled by the action of sand, wind, and rain, and strewn with a layer of fine whitish sand (Fig. 1) some fifty centimeters to one meter deep, in which countless *ka'ar* (hollows) and *nawâzi* (flats) were worn. A very little *arṭa* could be seen here and there; much more abundant were 'arfeġ, *ħamât*, *naši*, *şollejân*, and *metnân*. The straggling roots

of the last named creep for as much as ten meters away from the stem. From 7.03 to 7.35 we rested. The *hašme* that grew on sandy slopes with a southern exposure was already in bud. From 8.04 to 8.40 we drew water from the Ġebw al-Ešēžer. At 9.00 a violent southeast wind rose.



FIG. 1—*Ka'ar*, or hollows in the sand; first stage in formation.

Nâzel spoke of Mĥejrît eben Rmâl, 'Adwân eben Rmâl's brother, who for a long time was encamped as a neighbor to Mĥammad, brother of Prince an-Nûri. One day Mĥammad purchased a revolver and tested it in his tent. Thinking that he had emptied all the chambers, he handed the weapon to Mĥejrît, who was sitting close by, that he also might see how easy the action of the trigger was. Mĥejrît first thoroughly examined the revolver, then cocked it and pulled the trigger. A report resounded and Mĥammad lay writhing in agony, his abdomen pierced by the bullet. He died soon after. The slaves wanted to kill Mĥejrît, but he fled for refuge to an-Nûri, who released him. It was plain that Mĥammad himself had brought about his end. Allâh wished it so. Mišâ'el, the widow of Mĥammad and mother of Mežĥem, married Nawwâf. A year later she left him, for he had given her beatings a number of times. First Nawwâf had been in love with the comely daughter of Saṭṭâm. She was sister of his father's wife and reciprocated his affection but was compelled to marry Fâres, son of the assassinated Prince Fahad, who had bespoken her for his future wife on the day of her birth (*mâr hi cânat biĥeġrat fâres*).

After ten o'clock the Abraġ al-Ĥșân lay to the north, a black rocky hill extending from northwest to southeast and partly

covered with pale red sand. By the rocky hill of al-Mindass a *te'es*, or sand knoll, bearing the same name is slowly growing. It shone white to the northeast. The *Te'es* al-Hajjâniĵje emerged to the east-southeast, and the sand hill *Te'es* al-Awĉel appeared to the south-southeast, west of al-Hajjâniĵje. From

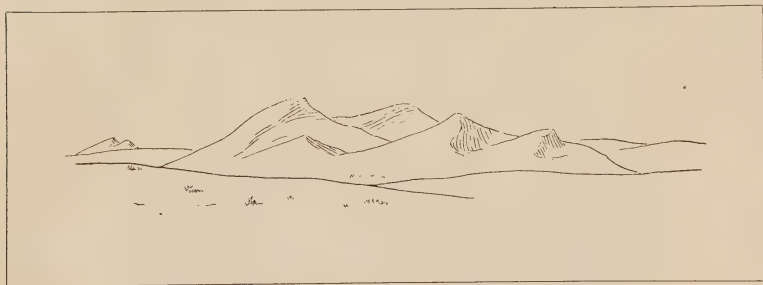


FIG. 2—*Tu'ûs*, or sand hills.

11.11 to 1.00 we rested. Our camels had very poor pasture, as there were no annuals and the perennials were quite black. I was told that there had been an abundance of annuals in these parts a year before, but no *aş-seĵfi* (early summer) rain had come and as a result the arborescent vegetation had dried up and did not flower. The *naşi* had been dry for two years. At 1.50 a hollow some four hundred meters long by seventy meters wide (*ka'ara*) lay to our right, extending from the southwest to the northeast. In its center another much smaller and older cavity was to be seen. At 2.25 the *Te'es* aş-Sêle' rose into view to the southeast and the hills of al-Aşjâĥ emerged to the east. We traversed some fairly fresh tracks of fourteen ostriches, none of which, however, could we see.

The *tu'ûs* (plural of *te'es*), or sand hills (Fig. 2), are characterized by ribs about two meters wide running from north to south. The western slopes of the dunes are usually very steep, almost vertical, the eastern sides being moderately inclined. The western faces, the ribs, and the tops are destitute of vegetation, as the sand is in constant motion. *Barĥûs* is the name given to such moving sand. The base of the eastern sides of the sand hills is occasionally overgrown.

To the northeast of the *Te'es* aş-Sêle' the mesa of al-Ğbele loomed black in the distance, and to the southwest of this another similar mesa called al-Ğbêle came into view.

At four o'clock we sighted the fortress of al-Ḥajjâniĵje, which had been erected in 1853 by order of Prince Ṭalâl eben Rašîd in a basin at the northern edge of an extensive plain. The northeastern and the southwestern angles are surmounted by towers (Fig. 3). The guard mounted in the northeastern tower spied us soon and began to fire at us. Nâzel rode in advance and by signs gave him to understand that we were friends. He descended and, accompanied by another guard, came to bid us welcome. At five o'clock we encamped to the left of the fortress. Its ground plan is rectangular. The gate is made in the shorter side that faces westward, a smaller entrance being pierced under the northeastern tower. The court is enclosed by a high wall to which cling a number of huts. Râzi and Čennâ, the two guards, were descended from the Beni Tamîm settled at Baġ'a and lived at al-Ḥajjâniĵje with their families. The guards assisted us in drawing water for our camels and presented us with a gazelle which they had shot that very day. Regarding Eben Rašîd all they knew was that he was conquering the settlements in al-Ķašîm to the south of al-Wâdi, as the valley of ar-Rma was called by them.

AL-ḤAJJÂNIĴJE TO AL-ĜBEJL

On January 22, 1915, we departed from al-Ḥajjâniĵje at six o'clock and proceeded almost due east. At 6.30 the hills of al-Ašĵâĥ rose to the east-northeast of us. From 7.30 to 8.00 our camels grazed. The southeast wind was so chilly that my fingers grew stiff and I was unable to write.

Nâzel referred to Prince Sa'ûd, son of 'Abdal'azîz, as *ġed'ân*, a term used by the Šammar to denote a boy from ten to sixteen years old. The life of the Prince had been saved by Sa'îd, a eunuch (*ṭawwaši*), who was the steward of all the stores in the time of Muḥammad and 'Abdal'azîz. The Prince fled with the eunuch to al-Medîna where he remained until the autumn of 1908. During the life of Muḥammad as many as one thousand slaves, divided into groups of twenty men each, lived in Berzân, a fortified residence of the reigning family in Hâjel. These slaves were sustained and clothed by Sa'îd, the eunuch.

At 8.40 the Ṭe'es aš-Šêle lay to the south. Its northern half consists entirely of moving sand, *barĥûs*, but there evidently must be solid rock underneath as a base. The isolated

tu'ûs enclose cores of solid rock, which are the last remains of a former plateau that has been exposed for ages to the erosive action of rain, frost, heat, wind, and sand. The less resistant parts have been reduced to sand and dust and swept

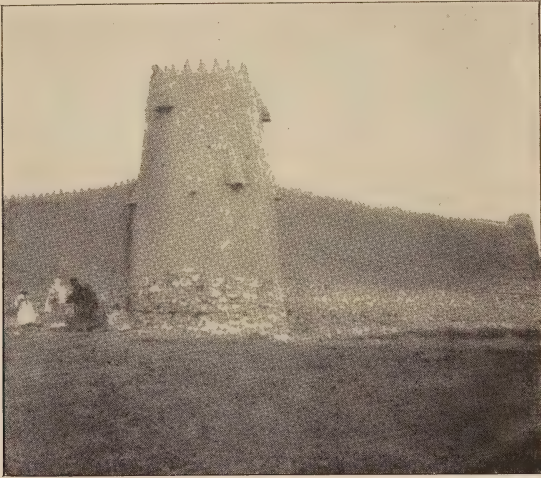


FIG. 3—Al-Ḥajjâniyye from the northwest.

away by the wind. Some of this débris has been carried toward the remnants of rocks that have withstood the effects of erosion. These have been gradually encompassed by sand and finally entirely submerged. This process is plainly visible both along the borders and in the interior of the Nefûd. Thus the table hills of al-Ğbele and al-Ğbêle (Fig. 4), which after nine o'clock were on our left, are still withstanding erosion, but the sand is already beginning to accumulate at their bases and some day will bury them in the same way that it has buried the somewhat lower Şêle'.

From 10.30 to 1.06 we rested among flowering annuals which our camels greatly relished. The pasture lands on which we encamped belong to the watering station of al-Ḥajjâniyye or, as Nâzel put it, *mafla-l-ḥajjâniyye* (pasture ground of al-Ḥajjâniyye), for, if the Arabs camp by the watering station of al-Ḥajjâniyye, not only camels but also goats and sheep may be allowed to graze as far as al-Ğbele, *testaflî* (reaches the pasture ground).

The tongues of sand that extend into a stony plain are called *erž* (veins) by the Šammar, as they form, as it were, the roots or veins of the sand desert. If these tongues are narrow, they are called *hbejjel* (little ropes). The tribes farther south use the term *habl* (rope) instead of *erž*.

A warm southeast wind had been blowing since morning. At 2.48 al-Ġbele was on our left, al-Ġbèle on our right, and the hill of at-Ṭumb in the foreground. We traversed a plain covered with coarse *débris*, among which *metnân* was just flowering. *Arfeġ* and *hašme* formed small patches. At 4.44 we made camp at the southern base of at-Ṭumb.

On January 23, 1915, I thought it would be impossible for me to remain in the saddle any longer. All the way from al-Ḥajjâniġje I had felt very sick and suffered a great deal from vomiting, colic, and fever. At night the fever rose to 40.7° C (105.3° F), the sick qualms were so violent that I was unable to take any medicine, and the bowels passed blood. Water being very scarce, we had to set out at eight o'clock. The low knolls of al-Ḥannatên were visible to the east and in the south-east appeared the *nâzje* and *tu'ûs* of Umm aš-Šenîn. We were traversing an undulating stony plain which drains its waters into the lowland Nukrat al-Ḥannatên, from which the sandy tract *Arejž* al-Mrejġ extends to the northeast. At 9.20 the Nâzjet umm Hašîm shone in the south. At 9.32 Nâzel drew my attention to a *riġm* (pile of stones) some three kilometers to the east, under which are the at-Temîle (or Temîlt al-Ġbele) holes, full of rain water in the sand of a small river bed. In the distance to the southwest the Ṭu'ûs al-Meġles gleamed pink in the sunshine.

Hardly able to sit, I threw both my arms around the saddle knob, lest I fall off. From 10.00 to 10.18 I lay prostrate on the ground, and then they put me on my saddle. At 11.16 we made another halt, for I was near collapse; I lay down until 1.06 and the attacks subsided to some extent.

At 1.48 the black rocky eminence of the Še'afet umm aš-Šenîn emerged in the foreground, and the Nawâzi al-Hašî-mijjât lay to the southeast. We were passing across a deserted camping ground, *marġ al-arab* as Nâzel pronounced it, instead of *mrâġ*. At 2.15 Nâzel indicated a craggy hill, al-Ġbejl, to the northeast, under which rain wells (*ġeba'*) are to be found. On the rocky plain that we were traversing we saw scattered here and there flowering *rakma* and *ġirġîr*,

as the Šammar call the herb known to the Rwala as *riğlet al-rurâb*. The *ğirğîr* of the Rwala is the *šhîs* of the Šammar. At 3.05 we turned southward into the Nefûd, where there was enough firewood and where we were screened by the sand hills.



FIG. 4—Hills of al-Ğbêle.

At 3.25 we encamped. Fever and attacks of vomiting tormented me the whole night.

In January 24, 1915, I fell into a lethargy but revived again with a new instinct of life when Nâzel reported that our water supply would last for only one day more. When at 6.07 they again put me on my camel's back, the fever rose to 40.5°C (104.9°F). It was now three days since I had taken my last meal. Nâzel asserted that the guards at al-Ḥajjânijje had tried to poison me with coffee; this they had served me separately in a special cup, whereas the others had been treated to coffee served in a common cup out of which the guards themselves drank.

At 7.24 we were crossing camel paths that bore in a south-southeasterly direction toward the watering place of at-Truba. The Ṭu'ûs and Nawâzi-l-Wendijjât appeared nearly in the same direction. At 7.24 the gloomy rise of Ertâbet at-Truba came into view in the foreground, and to the southeast the rocky cone of al-Ğbejl emerged.

To the northeast the Ḥabb al-Ğuhfa, exceeding two kilometers in width, sweeps from the northwest to the southeast and is bordered on the north by a steep rocky escarpment upwards of two hundred meters high and on the south by the slope of the Nefûd about fifty meters high. The rocky scarp to the north is pierced by many ravines that drain the stony upland plain beyond. The name of this stony region is at-Tejsijje. Its western part is furrowed by rocky depressions and gullies, called al-Metâjîh, which run in a northeasterly direction toward the lowland Ḥôr Uḳejjân. This bounds the sandy waste of ad-Dhana on the south. The

eastern edge of the tract of al-Metâjîh is skirted by the Pilgrim Road that sweeps past the wells and ruins of al-ʿArâješ, here overgrown with tall *arta* and *rimt* shrubs. To the east of the Pilgrim Road the region of at-Tejsijje is less rugged and there is not so much stone. On the confines of ad-Dhana this region is traversed by the winding valley Rišijjet ummu Nkej. By the Ḥabra-l-Ḥaṭṭân the latter unites with the Rišijjet ad-Duḥûl and terminates as al-Fwêleġ in the Ḥabra-l-Ḳidr in the lowland of as-Shêra. Into this same lowland run the following *šeʿibân*: al-Ḥmejjer, which is joined by al-Ḥattâl; az-Zabʿi; al-Hsiči, with al-Mdejsîs; Ab-al-Ġirfân, with Ummu-r-Rilân; al-ʿAwġa; and aš-Šaʿle. To the southeast of the lowland of as-Shêra stretches Tejsijjet ʿAneze, which at one time belonged to the Dahâmše tribe of the ʿAneze group. In this region the valleys of al-Mdahḥen, as-Sihel, and Umm as-Srûġ are to be found, all of which terminate in al-Bâṭen, as the northern portion of the Wâdi ar-Rmaʿ is called.

To the southeast, on the western side of the Ḥabb al-Ġuḥfa, we saw the elongated hill of al-ʿAnejtît and to the southeast of the latter the tabular hill of Ćabd ad-Darb, past which sweeps the new Pilgrim Road to Hâjel. To the north of Ćabd ad-Darb the well of al-Hâšme lies by the roadside, and to the south stands the ruined reservoir Brejċt al-Wusêt, beyond which the old Pilgrim Road runs through the dunes of al-Ḳtêʿa and still farther south penetrates the spurs of the hills of Ćabd al-Mejtân, whence it descends to the plain of Ġedʿân and finally reaches the ruined station of Zerûd by the ʿErž Lazzân. Zerûd¹³ lies in the Ḥabb al-Madbah, between the sand dunes of Lazzân and al-Ašʿali.

AL-ĠBEJL TO PILGRIM ROAD SOUTH OF AT-TAʿLABIJJE

From 10.08 to 12.08 we rested. At one o'clock a man mounted on a she-camel approached us. He was a Šammari seeking the camp of his relatives. Nâzel asked him:

"Which, then, are the Bedouins that aid Eben Saʿûd? (*eben saʿûd min ʿendo min al-bedâwa*)." The Šammari replied:

"I have come from al-Ġezîre and not from Neġd (*ana ġazri mâ-na neġdi*)."

Since his birth he had lived with his relatives in Mesopotamia and only recently had removed to the Šammar encamped in Neġd; hence he was not yet acquainted with the tribes that were marching with Eben Saʿûd.

At 3.16 we made camp, as I could no longer keep in the saddle. They prepared a bed for me, tucked me into blankets, and came every now and then to see if I was still breathing. After midnight I felt relief. Nâzel put flour in our last water supply and, continuously stirring the mixture over the fire, prepared a porridge and fed me with it. My stomach accepted

¹³ See below, Appendix II.

the meal, but I could not go to sleep. Knowing there was no water left, I urged a speedy departure.

On January 25, 1915, we started at 5.48. Seeing that I had not died, Nâzel rejoiced like a child and asserted that Allâh would soon put me right again. Mañşûr, who followed behind the camels, reported that Nâşer was lost. When we had moved out of camp, he said, Nâşer turned a little off our route and had not yet returned. We strained our eyes in every direction but there was no sign of the missing man. It was not until 7.06 that we descried him, standing on a low hill; we waited till 7.20, when he caught up with us, all in a sweat. He had lost sight of us in the dunes and had been afraid that he would never find us again. At 7.32 we reached the rocky cone called al-Ğbejl, two-thirds of which was submerged in sand. At 8.00 we descended into the Ḥabb al-Ğuḥfa where it is intersected by the new Pilgrim Road that leads to Ḥâjel, just opposite the wells of al-Ḥzêra and al-Ḥazra. At the present time the road goes past these wells; however, at the well of al-Hâşme it returns again to the route followed by the old Pilgrim Road. There are upwards of eighty wells at al-Ḥazra, from eight to ten fathoms deep. They belong to clans of the ʿAbde tribe who pitch their camps by them in the hot summer. Their herds graze in the district of az-Zbejb, where plenty of *rimt* grows.

From 10.12 to 1.18 at the old Pilgrim Road Darb as-Sitt Zobejde, which runs from al-Kûfa to Mecca, we rested not far south of the watering stations of al-Bed' and at-Ta'labijje. These lie in a defile of the type known as *ḥarîme*, which for a distance of three kilometers is full of wells, some with water, others choked up. The remains of the fort, of houses, and of three artificial reservoirs are all that is left of the ancient pilgrim station of at-Ta'labijje.¹⁴

¹⁴ See below, Appendix III.

CHAPTER II

AT-TA'LABIJJE TO EBEN RAŠÎD'S CAMP SOUTH OF WÂDI AR-RMA'

AT-TA'LABIJJE TO EBEN RAĤÎŞ'S CAMP IN AŞ-ŞÂMA

‘Abdallâh, or ‘Obejdallâh as he was called by Nâzel, rode to fetch some water, and, as he did not return for a long time, we loaded up at 1.18 and followed on his tracks. Presently we caught sight of him. He afterwards pleaded that at first he had not discovered any full well and that before he had found and drawn any water his camel escaped and he had lost time catching it. We put our water bags on a camel provided with a water saddle and at 1.55 abandoned the old Pilgrim Road called Darb Zobejde to follow the western edge of the Ḥabb al-Ġuḥfa (Fig. 5). To the southeast of at-Ta'labijje, along the southern border of the region called az-Zbejb, the wells Klejbât Šihân are to be found in the *še'ib* of al-Muḳṭar. Beyond these, farther to the southeast along the foot of the escarpment of at-Tejsijje, there are the following wells: al-Ḥufne, az-Zebâr, aš-Šihme, az-Zebîre, Taṛab al-Ġemal, Zâjûf, al-Ba'îte, at-Tlejhi, ‘Akêrše, and al-Ġbe'.

The dunes nowhere enter the Ḥabb al-Ġuḥfa, through which we were passing, but form a steep wall not infrequently attaining a height of forty meters along its southern side. The ground in the *ḥabb* is rocky; solitary crags are to be seen here and there, the remains of more solid strata, which, however, will also be reduced to a level in the remote future. The rocks are smooth, as if worked down with a sharp file, and the ground is level with occasional shallow hollows; erosion is still in progress. About four o'clock we turned to the south just opposite the *še'ib* of al-Muḳṭar, and not without difficulty ascended the sandy wall, beyond which we made camp.¹⁵

¹⁵ To all appearance the portion of the desert lying between the stations of at-Ta'labijje and Zerûd coincides with the desert of al-Hall.

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 464, states that pilgrims who came from Wâset on their fourth march from Line traversed the sand desert of al-Hall in order to reach at-Ta'labijje. This sandy tract stretches between Line and at-Ta'labijje, being, however, nearer the latter. — The road from at-Ta'labijje towards Line traverses some forty kilometers of stony, not sandy, desert.

On January 26, 1915, we departed from our camp at six o'clock. To the north-northeast of us were the wells of Šihân, with that of al-Ḥufne lying to the east-southeast. Farther to the southeast the hill of Žademt az-Zebîre projects from the escarpment. At 6.51 on our left in the *ḥabb* we sighted a rain pool supplied with water from the *še'ib* of al-Muḫtar. Its banks were overgrown with shrubs of luxuriant *'arfeğ*, *kejšûm*, and *ših*, already in bud. From 7.36 to 8.01 we drew water from this pool. I plucked blossoming annuals: *ḥamšîs*, *aḥḥejm*, *tarbe*, *nefel*, *ḥawdân*, *ribla*, and *'asansal*. At ten o'clock we passed the grove of Ṭalhât al-Ḥamd. The *ṭalhât* were not very tall but were surrounded by rank *ḥamz*, as the Šammar call *rimt*.

Nâzel narrated that once an army of Bedouins bent on capturing the settlement of Fejd camped by the Ṭalhât al-Ḥamd. The inhabitants of Fejd, relying on their high walls, laughed in their belief that the Bedouins could not get at them. The latter, however, near at-Ta'labijje on the Zobejde Road attacked a large merchants' caravan which was traveling from Persia to Mecca with sundry gifts, food, and apparel; there were seven hundred boxes altogether. The Bedouins emptied these near the Ṭalhât al-Ḥamd and concealed their contents under the tents, whence their wives removed them to their camps. Putting the emptied boxes on camels, the Bedouin army slowly moved toward Fejd. In each box two warriors were hidden. The inhabitants of Fejd were advised of the arrival of a large caravan and, looking forward to the many gifts, permitted the caravan to enter the settlement. As the camels with their loads were divided among the settlers, two or even four boxes were assigned to each dwelling. Before sunrise, when the settlers were fast asleep, the Bedouins left their hiding places, butchered the inhabitants, and seized the settlement.

From 11.25 to 12.12 we rested. At 12.23 a tall *ṭalh* tree which marks the rain well Ġeba' aš-Šihme came into view to the north-northeast. To the southeast there rose three tabular hills called az-Zebîre, where there is a well and the Ṭarab al-Ġemal, a shallow cleft in which rain water collects and to the southeast of which rises the mesa Kârt al-Lbâne.

At 12.32, as we sighted three men going south, we also turned off from the *ḥabb* into the sands and at 1.50 arrived in the rocky country of aš-Šâma at the camp of the Nebhân

clan of the Singâra, of which Eben Raĥîş is chief. We pitched our tents on the northeastern edge of the camp and tried to learn where Eben Raşîd could surely be found. The whole camp was agitated, and the guards posted on remoter hills were on



FIG. 5—At-Tejsijje from the west.

the alert. Three days previously about forty mounted mercenaries of Eben Raşîd had come to the camp and announced that he had been defeated and slain. They said he had left his encampment at as-Sejjerijjât on January 20 and with his troops mounted on horses and camels had attacked Eben Sa'ûd, who was encamped in Ummu Ğrejf. Two days later a number of fleeing riders returned to the camp of Eben Raşîd and shouted that Eben Raşîd was slain. The mercenaries, who were guarding the deserted camp, rushed to the tents where the food was stored, seized as much as they wished, and took to their heels. In their flight, however, they encountered a strong troop of the Mtejir tribe, allies of Eben Sa'ûd, who dispersed them, entered the camp, and captured all the tents and stores. Not a single one of the *raġâġîl* (mercenary soldiers) defended the camp. (On hearing this, Nâzel swore at them, calling them cowards.) As soon as they reached the camp of Eben Raĥîş, this chief mustered all his warriors and rode to as-Sejjerijjât in order to learn what was the matter

and then to join the other clans of the Singâra tribe. It was obvious that civil war would break out, if the report of the death of Eben Rašîd were to prove true. As the minister Sa'ûd eben Subhân had enough arms and gold, he and his followers were in a position to oppose the remaining members of the ruling family of the Šammar, who at that time were staying in the enemy's camp with Eben Sa'ûd.

We decided to remain in the camp of Eben Raḥîṣ until we had learned the exact truth. In the evening the guards posted to the southwest cried out that Eben Sa'ûd was approaching. The women struck the tents preparatory to flight, but soon another report announced that merely an auxiliary band of Šammar hastening to as-Sejjerijjât had been seen.

THE ŠAMMAR

Šammar is the common name of the following tribes: Singâra, Tûmân, 'Abde, and Aslam.

The Singâra are divided into: Âl Zmejł
 al-Ḥfejle
 Âl Swejd
 Âl Fedâra.

The clans of the Âl Zmejł are:

Âl Shejl (head chief: Fahad eben Tnejjân)
 Âl Nebhân („ „ Ġasem ebe-r-Raḥîṣ).

The families of the Âl Shejl:

Âl Salmân (chief: Barġas eben 'Ardân)
 Âl Šiḥa' („ Šlâš eben Frejż)
 Âl bi Sa'ad („ Rošen eben Rejmiš)
 aḍ-Derfân („ Sâhi eben Muṭlaḳ)
 an-Nemsân („ Wasmî eben Ru'êne)
 al-Marâfle („ Marzûḳ al-Morḑeli)
 ar-Rabzân („ Ma'âš welad Rabûż)
 aš-Šelḳân („ Abačli eben Fâleḩ).

The families of the Âl Nebhân:

aš-Šamrûḩ (chief: 'Ejâdet al-Žibli)
 al-Ḥamsân („ Râleb eben Neda')
 al-Wadnân („ Ġâred welad Ġelâd)
 Âl Kwejs („ Sihl eben 'Elejż)
 aḩ-Żaw („ 'Aješ ebe-š-Šefâḳi).

The families of al-Ḥfejle:

Âl Žâred (chief: Razbân ebe-r-Rmâl)
 Âl Hazîm („ Ġerûḩ eben Hazîm)
 Âl Selż
 al-Člâb („ Žemâš eben Čalb)

The families of al-Hfejle: (*continued*)

al-ʿEmûr (chief: Menâšwer eben Ĥrâš)
 Âl Žbejjer
 ʿAli bi ʿAli („ Nazzâl eben Sejlem)
 Âl Rĥâm
 al-Knej („ Mislim eben Zwejm)
 Âl Ġerdân („ Leʿejbân eben Mâjež).

The Hfejle camp between Eġaʿ, Bêza Neĥl, and as-Sâlmî.

The families of the Âl Swejd:

Âl Fazli (chief: Habîb eben Sened)
 al-Kreše („ Fhejd eben ʿOmejm)
 al-Harâbde („ Eben Ĥlewi).

The families of the Âl Fedâra:

ar-Raʿġân (chief: Raġaʿ ar-Raʿâġi)
 az-Zemalât („ Mešʿân eben Aĥmed).

The Siġâra camp between al-Rûṭa and al-Ĥzûl. The watering places of al-Hebeke, al-Hubejċe, ar-Raġʿa, and ar-Rowz belong to the Âl Shejl; Lowġa is the property of the Nebhân; al-Maʿâniġje, on the other hand, belongs not to any of the Šammar but to the ʿAneze.

The ʿAmûd, not properly a subdivision of the Šammar, and the Tûmân associate with the Siġâra.

Most of al-ʿAmûd have emigrated to Mesopotamia together with al-Ġarbaʿ. Those who have remained possess some five hundred tents and are subject to the head chief Šlâš eben Fnejdel. They are divided into the following clans:

al-Ĥreše
 al-Hsêne
 Âl Brejġ.

The clans of the Tûmân:

at-Tumjât (chief: Zejd eben Miġhem)
 ar-Rubʿ („ Wazâĥ eben Rbâʿi)
 al-Hedba („ Swejdân ebe-l-Lĥâb)
 Âl Zmejġ.

Their camping grounds extend from aš-Šubeċe toward Irak and are devoid of any important watering places.

The ʿAbde are divided into: Âl Jiĥajja
 ar-Rabiʿiġje.

The clans of the Âl Jiĥajja:

Âl Mfazzal (head chief: Milbes eben Ġibrîn)
 as-Snân („ „ ʿEkâb eben ʿEġel)
 as-Smejle („ „ Bšejjer âl Mašwi)
 al-Ġenede („ „ ʿEbċi eben Raṣâl)
 ad-Drêrât („ „ Farĥân eben Saʿejjed).

The families of the Âl Mfazzal:

Âl Masʿûd (chief: Taġlâʿ eben Mšawweĥ)
 Âl Mwejneʿ („ ʿOklat eben Mwejneʿ)

The families of the Âl Mfazzal: (*continued*)

at-Tilâ'	(chief: Dârer at-Tlê'i)
aṭ-Turmân	(„ 'Âjed al-Aṭram)
Âl Frejhîd	(„ Meš'âd eben Frejhîd)
Âl Brejč	(„ Marzûk eben 'Ali)
as-Seliṭ	(„ Eben Zarmân)
Âl Rabbâ'	(„ Tâmi eben Rabbâ')
al-Ahâmel	(„ Ğezzâ' ab-ar-Rwejs).

The families of the Dṛêrât:

aš-Šrejhât	(chief: Saḥli eben Hazzâ')
Âl 'Elejjân	(„ Sûdi eben 'Elejjân)
al-Rîte or al-Ṛijete.	

The clans of the Rabîijje:

al-Ġa'âfra	(head chief: Wâdi eben 'Ali)
az-Zakârît	(„ „ Eben 'Aḳâb)
al-Wejbâr	(„ „ Fahad eben Fawwâz)
Âl Ğedi	(„ „ Zâher eben Ğedi)
Âl Hsên	(„ „ Mifleḥ eben 'Anejzân).

The families of the Ġa'âfra:

Âl Ḥalîl	(chief: Fâjez eben Ḥalîl)
Âl Hejmer	
Âl 'Aṭûn	
ar-Razana	(„ Čâjed ar-Razni).

The tribe of 'Abde owns the watering stations of Lîne, al-Ḥazra, Zerûd, aš-Ša'ebe, and al-Aġfar; its camping grounds extend from Eġa' to beyond Lîne.

The clans of the Aslam:

Âl Ṭwâla	(head chief: Barraš eben Ṭwâla)
al-Frede	(„ „ 'Amaš eben 'Anejzân)
Âl Shejm	(„ „ Eben Ḥalaf)
al-Hejrâr	(„ „ 'Ejâde eben 'Ajd)
as-Skût	(„ „ 'Abdallâh eben Ḥamed)
al-Ġhejš	(„ „ Nahâr al-Ġenfâwi)
al-Wahb	(„ „ Lhejlem eben 'Aḳal)
al-Hejs	(„ „ Maš'ân eben Mazîd)
al-Čatfe	(„ „ Eben Ṛurejr)
as-Sleṭe	} („ „ Eben Farrâġ).
al-Waġ'ân	

The families of the Âl Ṭwâla are:

al-Ma'âzîd	
Âl Nefkân	
al-Manâšîr	(chief: Ḥzejr ebe-š-Ša'ejlîž)
Âl Selhûb.	

The camping grounds of the Aslam extend southeastward from Salma, include al-Ḳašîm, and terminate by Bšûk and al-Ġerâba.

AŠ-ŠĀMA TO THE NAWĀZI-L-BITR

Leaving at 8.38 on January 27, 1915, together with the whole encampment we migrated through the rocky tract of aš-Šāma to the west. The Ḥabb al-Ġuhfa is a favorite thoroughfare of marauding bands, and hence the women were anxious to avoid it. Very few men were at home and there was no depending on Eben Rašîd's deserters. I was again very ill and, being unable to eat, I had to summon all my strength to keep in the saddle. Standing on a hillock, Nâzel pointed to the Ḥabra Mrêlet to the southeast, and to the southwest of this he indicated the desolate sand waste of Ġer Râzi with the 'Erż Lazzân close by. Aš-Šāma, which we were traversing, is covered with pale red sand here and there, though black rocks give the predominant tone. From 11.50 to 12.25 we rested and at 1.21 arrived at a new camp in aš-Šāma.

January 28, 1915, I spent in collecting information about the country lying between the stations of Zerûd and al-Aġfar. Nâzel fetched an old man whom he knew, who filled out the gaps in his acquaintance with the country.

At four o'clock we heard a gunshot followed by shouts of joy and saw two riders galloping on the camp. The first one dismounted outside my tent and called out: "Listen to pleasant tidings, the tidings of Eben Rašîd's victory!" Then he went on to say that Eben Rašîd had attacked Eben Sa'ûd near al-Aġrâb and not at Ummu Ġrejf. The fugitive members of the Eben Rašîd family, as well as the Šammar staying at that time with Eben Sa'ûd, stood in the van of the latter's army and were commanded by Fejşal eben Rašîd. They were four battalions strong, exactly the same as the force led by the minister Sa'ûd. The warriors from Lubde, one of the four districts of Ḥâjel, were surrounded by Fejşal and dispersed. However, the slaves of Sa'ûd who were assembled under the standard of the district of Berzân, the seat of Eben Rašîd, succeeded in exposing the flank of Fejşal's battalions, broke through the ranks of Eben Sa'ûd's army, and compelled the force to retreat. On the Šammar side two Bedouins and twenty-two settlers were slain, while Fejşal was reported "to have lost several hundreds, including also a great number of the Inklîz (English) who fired pieces of heavy ordnance." The report of Eben Rašîd's defeat had been spread by the runaways from the Lubde battalion and by the Mtejr who had really

attacked and plundered his camp. The messenger who had brought this good news was rewarded by Nâzel with one *meğî-dijje* (90 cents). As soon as he had gone, Nâzel declared:

"O Mûsa! Much that he has told is true, much also is a lie. He is a mercenary himself and there is more prowess in his mouth than in his heart. I have given him a *meğîdijje* for thy sake, lest his mouth should do thee harm. The minister Sa'ûd eben Subhân does not wage war against Eben Sa'ûd, but against Fejşal and his relatives who would fain banish him, just as he has banished Fejşal and his family. Eben Sa'ûd will have no hostility, but the minister Sa'ûd eben Subhân spurs on Eben Raşîd, for he fears that they would kill him if Eben Raşîd were reconciled with his relatives who are staying with Eben Sa'ûd at present. The warriors who have flocked to the standard of Lubde would rather serve Fejşal than the descendant of a slave, and we Singâra should also prefer it so. Tomorrow we shall proceed farther south and learn more news."

In the evening we determined the latitude.

At 6.03 on January 29, 1915, we departed from the camp of Eben Raşîş. In the tract of aş-Şâma which we were traversing there grows an abundance of *'arfeğ*. If the camels can have even a small quantity of *rimt* to feed on, the pasture lands overgrown with *'arfeğ* agree with them excellently, they grow fat, and their humps increase. No *şîh* grows in aş-Şâma, but in al-Ğuhfa this plant is very rank. At 6.40 we saw the Nawâzi-l-Bitr to the southeast; far away to the south appeared the edges of the elevated flats of an-Nawâzer, with the bare, sandy tracts of Ğer' Râzi in the foreground, and to the north of these Ćabd al-Mejtân was visible. At 9.16 Nâzel indicated the water holes al-Ĥesw, full of rain water. These appeared to be covered with sand and lay about a kilometer and a half to the northeast in the rocky channel of a small *şe'ib*. The black hill of Ćabd al-Mejtân emerged to the southwest.

Nâzel asserted that Eben Raşîd had representatives everywhere. In an-Neğef (Meşhed 'Ali) he was represented by Abu Ĥall, a citizen, and by Nâşer eben Ĥaşmân, a *rağğâl* (mercenary) who was also a native of an-Neğef. His plenipotentiary in Bagdad was Eben Daĥîl, and in Constantinople Reşîd Pasha. He added that the members of the family of Eben Raşîd were noted for their bravery, especially the sons of 'Obejd, but since the death of 'Abdal'azîz they had been killing one another.

Of late there had been no such *hāčem* (ruler) as Muḥammad, or, at the best, as ʿAbdalʿazīz. Now slaves had the command, and the Šammar were watching over what had survived of their ancient glory. But for the tribe of ʿAbde, the family of Eben Rašīd would have been utterly exterminated. Of the direct descendants of ʿAbdallāh, who founded the power of this family, only four boys had survived, and Allāh alone knew when they too would be despatched. Of the descendants of ʿObejd twenty-eight had been slain of late years; the remaining six were staying with Eben Saʿūd. Among the Bedouins the members of ruling families murder one another promiscuously; yet nowhere had more blood been shed than among the kindred of Eben Rašīd.

From 10.20 to 11.32 we rested. Soon after, a negro belonging to Eben Rašīd joined us. He was dressed in a white shirt and red caftan, with his head wrapped in a yellow kerchief. With ʿObejdallāh he exchanged salutations such as are observed between nephews and their uncles on the mother's side. (The negroes call their masters *jā ʿammi*, i. e. paternal uncle; among themselves, however, they use *jā hāli*, meaning maternal uncle.) He was very proud of his apparel and frequently brushed and tidied his caftan.

At two o'clock the Ḥabra Mrēlet lay some three kilometers to the south, and beyond it the Nawāzi-l-Bitr appeared, on the eastern slope of which we pitched our camp at 4.07.

The negro stayed over night with us and told us that the clothes of the servant indicate the generosity and wealth of the master. At the same time he jeered at Nāzel and declared that he would present him with his cast-off clothes in which to appear before Eben Rašīd. In order to humiliate him I gave Nāzel a new shirt, a bluish kerchief of silk, a pink caftan, and a fine brown cloak. Nāzel, having his weakness for fine clothes thus indulged, spent the whole night trying to find out how the new clothes would best become him.

On January 30, 1915, Nāzel began to change his clothes shortly after four o'clock. He built a big blaze, obtained a looking-glass from me, and proceeded to adjust his new headgear, his pink caftan, and brown cloak. When we set out at 5.16 he was reluctant to mount his camel lest he crumple his attire, and so he walked on foot till 6.44, when we took our breakfast. Eben Rašīd's negro could not take his eyes off Nāzel. His own scarlet caftan seemed to him smarter, of

course, than Nâzel's pink one, but when the latter declared that his pink silk caftan would fetch him four red cotton ones, the negro pricked up his camel and withdrew, without even taking leave of us. I remonstrated with Nâzel, saying that if he offended the negro he also offended Eben Rašîd, his master. Nâzel, however, was of the opinion that the fellow was not in the service of Eben Rašîd but in that of the minister Sa'ûd, about whom he did not care. The Šammar generally complain of the prince's slaves. If such a slave enters a camp, the chief must treat him to meat and butter and give him clothes or a she-camel in addition to money (*hurğijje*).

NAWÂZI-L-BITR TO NEAR AL-ĞBE'; WÂDI AR-RMA'

At seven we resumed our march. The Nawâzi-l-Bitr are overgrown almost exclusively with *naši*. The dunes surround small, stony, cup-like depressions full of *naši*. At nine a warm south wind rose. From 9.35 to 11.15 our camels grazed. At 12.08 we crossed a path traversing the sand in an east-northeasterly direction and leading to the Ğebw ar-Radifa, which is situated on a plain above the rocky escarpment facing al-Ğuḥfa on the east. A little south of ar-Radifa the Ğebw al-Ba'îte is to be found. We were passing through the Ḥabb al-Mazhûr, a narrow stony *habb* flanked on either side with a wall of sand some thirty meters high. The ground of the *habb* was hard and stony while the two sand walls bordering it consisted of loose sand. Many a *habb* measures as much as two hundred kilometers in length; its width, however, not infrequently in places does not exceed twenty meters. Again a *habb* may be as much as three kilometers wide and traversed by narrow sand drifts. Farther southeast a strip of sand some ten kilometers wide divides the Ḥabb al-Mehûle from the Ḥabb al-Mazhûr and, still farther southeast, similar strips separate the *ḥbûb* (plural of *habb*) of al-Btejjer, an-Naḳ', ar-Rożom, aṭ-Taḥ, al-Kôḥ, and aš-Šrufi. All these *ḥbûb* extend to the southeast from the rocky tract of Batra ummu Rġûm, which adjoins the Nawâzi-l-Bitr on the southeast.

At 12.45 we crossed a sandy trail (*hall*) that sweeps in an east-northeasterly direction to the Ğebw aṭ-Tlejhi, situated in a cleft of the scarp Ġâl al-Ğuḥfa. From 1.32 to 1.46 and from 2.30 to 2.55 the camels were in pasture. At 3.45 we crossed the trail leading from the well of al-Ğbe' (which lies

near the Ḥabb al-Ġuḥfa) west-southwest to the wells of al-Aġfar, and at 3.56 we encamped in the 'Erż al-Mazhûr, a tongue of the Nefûd that extends far to the southeast. Nâzel feared that we might be attacked by the 'Aġmân, who at that time were in the habit of molesting the camps of the Šammar pitched to the east of the granite mountains of Salma.

On January 31, 1915, we set out at 5.05. Not a breath of wind was stirring. A few minutes later we crossed the Ḥall Lîne, a trail leading from al-Ḳašîm — or, more exactly, from the settlement of Dîde — past the watering place of Lîne to Irak. Dîde lies between the Ḥabb aš-Šrufi and the rocky scarp Ġâl al-Btejn. The plateau of which this scarp forms the northern rim is surmounted to the southeast by a higher plateau bordered on the northwest by another scarp called Ġâl al-Ḳa'ra and falling off on the southeast in the Ġâl aš-Šafra'. These plateaus are skirted by the wide valley of ar-Rma', which comes from the west-southwest, turns to the north-northeast at the town of 'Anejza, disappears in the sand to the east of Dîde, and reappears again 55 kilometers farther to the northeast at the southeast end of al-Ġuḥfa between the Ġâl ar-Ra'an and the Nawâzi-s-Sejjerijjât; beyond this point ar-Rma' is called al-Bâten. For eons the Wâdi ar-Rma' has been threatened by invasion from the sandy strips approaching it from the northwest. The Ġâl al-Btejn, Ġâl al-Ḳa'ra, and Ġâl aš-Šafra' have protected the valley from the sand, but east of them the sand has prevailed. After heavy rains floods sweep the bed of ar-Rma', seizing everything in their way and only giving up their spoils beyond the Ġâl aš-Šafra'. Their progress is here obstructed by sand, which compels the waters to deposit part of their load; thus the alluvial deposits of ar-Rma' have themselves facilitated the advance of the victorious sand. When the latter had covered the bed of ar-Rma' for a distance of some 55 kilometers the alluvium was deposited about the base of the Ġâl al-Btejn and Ġâl-aš-Šafra'. The run-off is absorbed by the deposits, decomposes their various constituents, and, acting as a fertilizer, induces the growth of grasses, shrubs, and trees and invites man to come and establish settlements on the alluvial flats. Thus, where the bed of ar-Rma' terminates, many settlements known by the common name of al-Ḳašîm, have arisen. In the valley there is plenty of water everywhere, as it is protected from rapid evaporation by the alluvial deposits and the sand. In places here and there puddles are formed;

elsewhere the water lies as much as fifteen meters beneath the surface and must be pumped. The moisture of the bed of ar-Rma' also penetrates part of the sandy zone and causes a rank growth of shrubs and grasses; it does not, however, supply the whole zone, nor does it reach as far as al-Bâten, which is parched with heat and only after plentiful rains retains moisture for any length of time.

To the right of ar-Rma' lies the fortified town of 'Anejza, which, together with its rival Brejda, controls the whole of al-Ḳašîm. To the northeast of 'Anejza there are the small settlements of aş-Şmejsijje, Rowzat Şâleh, and ar-Rowza, which lie in the river bed where it is narrowed by the tabular hills Ḳûr al-Arâhem on the east and the sand drift of al-Ramîs on the west. Between this sand drift and the slope of aş-Şafra' lies the settlement of at-Ṭrûfijje. East of al-Arâhem are the rain ponds of al-Ḥawâbi, with the mountain of Burma rising in their vicinity. This mountain is skirted by the valley of al-Mistwi, which communicates with ar-Rma' to the northwest and in which lies the settlement of an-Nebċijje north of Burma. An old road leads from this settlement past the watering place of al-Ḥmûdijje to al-Bâten and on to al-Başra. Between an-Nebċijje and ar-Rma' there are the settlements of ar-Rķejje and aş-Şerîf.¹⁶

To the north of these settlements, between the Ġâl aş-Şafra' and the sands, the valley of ar-Rma' is called al-Asjâh and is densely inhabited and cultivated. There is no end to the gardens, one communicating with the other. Where the valley of al-Mistwi enters ar-Rma' lies the settlement of al-Ġâ'la, and farther to the northeast and north follow: 'Ajn eben Fhejd, Tennûme, at-Ṭrejġ, Ab-ad-Dûd, Ḥnêzel, Dîde, and Bel'ûm. To the southwest of the last-named the settlements of al-Ḳşejbe, al-Maşķûķ, and al-Ḥmûdijje are grouped near the northwesternmost extremity of the scarp of al-Bţejn.

On the left bank of ar-Rma' the settlements of al-Ḥazar, as-Sbâh, and Brejda are situated to the north of 'Anejza, and to the west-northwest of it lie al-Ḥabb, at-Twêġer, as-Sfêle, al-Ḳâra, Ḳaşr al-Hdejje, al-'Ajûn, al-Rarâf, and ar-Rowz. The last three are in a cup-like basin bounded by the slopes of ar-Rwajje and al-Mlejden. Farther north are the sand dunes of al-Bwejtân, and between these and the Ġâl al-Ḳâ'ra the settlement of al-Wtâl is hidden.¹⁷

To the west of al-Rarâf the hills of al-Ḥanâdel rise from a rocky plain, and to the north of them loom the mesas of al-Ḥtût, Şelâşel, and al-Mnêşfe, which form a southwestern continuation of the Ġâl al-Bţejn.

At 6.50 al-Mu'azzel, a rocky offshoot of the escarpment of al-Ġuḥfa, appeared almost due north. In the time of Muḥammad eben Rašîd the 'Aġmân attacked the encampment of

¹⁶ According to Jākût, *Mu'ġam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 3, p. 384, aş-Şarîf is a settlement on a transport road; it lies within ten miles of an-Nibâġ and belongs to the Beni Usajd of the Tamim. Date palms are said to grow there. An-Nibâġ lies between the settlement of aş-Şarîf and the district of al-Ḳaww. — An-Nibâġ is the present an-Nebċijje.

¹⁷ Jākût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 116, states that Uţâl is a fort in the territory of the Beni 'Abs not far from the territory of the Asad tribe.

the Âl Ġa'afar (or al-Ġa'âfra) clan, then pitched under al-Mu'azzel, and captured their camels and tents. Muḥammad was at Brejda in al-Ḳašim at that time (1891), but, when he learned what had happened, he instantly gathered his slaves and soldiers together, gave chase, and overtook the 'Aġmân just when with shouts of joy they were entering their camp on the border of al-Ḳaṭîf. He surprised them and not only recovered the lost camels and tents but captured the enemy's camels and tents as well and returned to the Âl Ġa'afar's encampment at al-Ġbe'. The Šammar call this expedition *mraza' al-kaḏa* (Judgment Raid), as Muḥammad thus took his vengeance on the 'Aġmân.

At seven o'clock we entered a camp of the ar-Rub' clan of the Tûmân tribe, of which Eben Rbâ'i was chief. The women and children were busy seeking truffles (*faḳa'*), which grow buried in sand that arches over them. It is possible to locate them even if one is on a camel. It is then necessary merely to remove the sand and pull out the truffle. Some were about the size of a hazel nut, others as large as a goose egg but round. They are either roasted on the fire or on glowing ashes, or fried in butter. With salt they are very palatable. From 8.06 to 8.22 we were engaged in seeking truffles. The hill of Umm as-Srûġ rises to the north of the nose-like projection that surmounts the wells of al-Ġbe'.

We were traversing the sandy tongue 'Erž al-Mazhûr, on which there grew plenty of young *hemḥem*, *ḥamšîš*, *da'lûḳ al-mṭi*, *ribla*, *zerî*, *šidd al-ġemal*, and *raḳma*. A small bird known as *umm sâlem* kept circling around us, and at ten o'clock the first swallow (*abu rkê'*) joined us. Its plumage was brownish, only the breast being white. Nâzel drew my attention to the bird in order to prove that winter proper was over in the territory of his tribe. From 10.33 to 12.03 we rested on the southern slope of a deep hollow (*ka'ara*).

While the camels were in pasture we cleaned our shirts. At 12.39 the solitary hill of 'Obejd al-Ġbe' loomed black to the northeast. In the sand we noticed human footprints, to which the Šammar pay much attention. Nâzel showed us how he manages to find out whether the tracks are left by one who habitually camps in the Nefûd or by one whose camping grounds are stony tracts (*ḥeġara*). The inhabitants of the Nefûd have broad feet and heels made smooth by the sand, while the tribes camping in stony regions have narrow feet

and heels scarred by stones. If the Šammari discovers several of the latter sort of tracks in the sand, he knows that the enemy has passed by. At four we pitched our camp.

On February 1, 1915, we were under way as early as 3.35. It was light enough even for writing. We wished to cross by night the dangerous territory through which "al-Wâdi" extends. The Rwala and the Ahâli aš-Šemâl call the valley of Sirhân simply "al-Wâdi"; similarly the Šammar and the southern tribes employ the term "al-Wâdi" to denote the western portion of the Wâdi ar-Rma', the eastern part being known as al-Bâten. Al-Wâdi terminates in the territory called al-Asjâh, which runs along the southeastern offshoot of the Nefûd. The latter is known as Nefûd al-'Urûk or al-Ĥbûb, because it is composed of several strips of sand (*'urûk*) which bound the stony *ĥbûb*. The valley of ar-Rma' is completely lost under these strips of sand. What its original course many thousands of years ago was may be inferred from the direction followed by the existing Wâdi ar-Rma' and from the fact that in these parts of the Nefûd an abundance of *korzi* grows in the *ĥbûb* and that this *korzi* thrives only on sandy tracts supplied with ground water. To the north of the Nefûd al-'Urûk the Wâdi ar-Rma', or, as it is there called, al-Bâten, on its left side is bounded by the rocky scarp of ar-Ra'an, the right side being bordered by the Nawâzi-s-Sejjerijjât, which extend from the desert of ad-Dhana as far as the Nefûd.

NEAR AL-ĞBE' TO ĤABB UMMU ĞREJF

At 4.20 we crossed trails which run north-northeast to al-Ğbe'. At 4.35 Nâzel reminded me that we were beginning to pass through the former valley of ar-Rma', though it was here covered by dunes exceeding twenty meters in height. Between the dunes there grew rank shrubs of *korzi* on which our camels browsed with much relish. At 5.40 we crossed the trail Ĥall al-Ĥarîme, which leads from the settlements in the district of al-Asjâh north-northeast to al-Bâten. At 6.20 we turned a little more to the east into the 'Erz al-Mazhûr. To our left in the Ĥabb al-Ğuĥfa we could see countless *kûr*, the more or less eroded remains of former tabular hills which in the lapse of time will be reduced to sand. To the southeast of these appeared the white Nawâzi-s-Sejjerijjât. At 6.45 the rising sun flooded the whole country with gold. After we

had descended into the rocky Ḥabb al-Ġuḥfa we made a stop from 7.10 to 7.40 among the isolated crags near the scarp Ġāl ar-Raʿan, where our camels discovered depressions full of lush *ġerad*, *ġafna*, and *żetâde*. A short distance away we found a small heap of paper. It was the proclamation of religious war (*ġihâd*) printed at Constantinople in Arabic and Turkish. Later we learned that the proclamation had been sent from Enver Pasha to Eben Rašîd by Sherif Šarafaddîn. The Sherif was despatched in order to induce Eben Rašîd to make peace with the northern tribes and to wage the *ġihâd* against the English. He had handed the proclamation to Eben Rašîd in his camp, but the slaves had flung it away. Nâser wished to light a fire with it in order to boil the tea; Nâzel, however, interfered, pleading that a paper from Stamboul would emit too much smoke and the smoke might betray us.

We kept to the northern side of the *ḥabb*, where many jagged crags provided enough shelter. Our camels cropped the abundant *ʿarfeġ* and *ġafna* flowers. The latter bears a close resemblance to *ʿarfeġ*, except that its bark is more rugged. *Kaʿade* was also in bloom. On all sides around us we saw the fresh tracks of horses and camels of the warriors of Eben Rašîd. When he proclaimed the *ġihâd* he sent word to all settlers and tribes requesting the warriors to appear before him in an appointed place at an appointed time. On the spot selected for the meeting he displayed his four standards outside his tent, grouped his slaves so as to form a hollow square (*sûk*) around the tent, assumed his position in the middle of the square, and ordered the auxiliary bands of Bedouins to parade before him (*eʿrezaw*). The warriors mounted on horses or camels, urging their animals to make slight bounds, shouted:

“Before thy eyes, O Emir! I am a rider of his Grace! I am prepared to sacrifice my life for the chief! (*ʿajnék jā emîr ḥajjâl ar-rahmân fedaw aš-šejḥ*).” The prince beckoned with his hand and called out:

“True, true! (*naʿam naʿam*).”

When this was over, they started on their march against the enemy.

At 11.40 the escarpment Ġāl ar-Raʿan appeared to the north, the reddish sands of the Nawâzi-s-Sejjerijjât lay to the east, and between the latter and ar-Raʿan there stretched a great depression covered with fragments of rock (Fig. 6)

and numerous clumps of *ṭalḥ* trees. Here al-Bâten begins. At 12.40 we made a halt, as our pregnant camel was due to bear. We took down her load, 'Obejdallâh held her head, and Nâşer pulled out the young one, killed it on the spot, and took



FIG. 6—The scarp Ġâl ar-Ra'an from the south.

it away into a gully near by where he buried it under stones. The camel got up and sniffed about the ground, but 'Obejdallâh drove her several hundred meters away lest she should find her young one. We distributed her load among the others so that she could walk at ease. The young one could not have been saved; it would soon have perished from fatigue and hunger.

At 1.12 we sighted a man mounted on a camel by the largest clump of *ṭalḥ* trees. We got our arms ready and looked around for any other riders about but could see none. The man shouted to us. He was a Šammari of the Aslam tribe and told us that the wells of al-Ġrejbe contained plenty of water and that he had been staying by them for six days attending to his mare, which had been severely wounded in the last engagement. He offered to fetch us some water and, as we were very short of it and the camp of Eben Rašîd was still far distant, we accepted his services; whereupon he departed on his camel with our water bags and a leather bucket.

Al-Ġrejbe lies in al-Bâten between the Ġâl ar-Ra'an and the Nawâzi-s-Sejjerijjât. To the north of the wells are modest ruins and the wells of Barêt al-Aġradi. Farther north the valleys of Umm as-Srûġ and as-Sihel terminate. The rocky scarp Ġâl aš-Šaфра', which shuts in al-Bâten on the north, ends northeast of the valley of al-Mdahhen. Beyond it al-Bâten swings to the northeast and encounters the sand desert of ad-Dhana, which cuts across it at right angles and in which the Nawâzi-l-Ĥatîfe and al-Âdrijje lie not far to the north. The rocks of at-Tmâmi, however, protect al-Bâten from the encroachments of the sand; to the south of these rocks ad-Dhana continues, forming the following *hbûb*: al-'Abîd, al-Ġhâm, and az-Zabb. The desert of ad-Dhana is bounded on the northeast by the mesa of al-Mḥaḳkeba, the northeast side of which, in turn, faces the escarpment Ġâl al-Mṛaṭṭi; the latter is the southeastern edge of an upland which merges on the northeast into al-Ġrajba, a jagged tract of rocks the strike of which runs in general from southwest to northeast. No true valleys are found here, though extensive stony depressions separated from one another by rocky mounds conduct the rain water falling on al-Ġrajba toward the base of the scarp of Ḥkej al-Ḳsâš, which also trends in a northwest-southeasterly direction. Eastward from the wells of Line these depressions are known as: al-Ġel'ûdijje, al-A'êweġ, Abu Šowr, Abu Šzâz (which come from the Kûr al-Ḳerâjen), al-Ma'sari, aš-Šbâċ, and al-Baddâk. In aš-Šbâċ there is the well of ar-Rorwe; to the east of it lie the wells of al-Muṭrebe, al-'Eġġeli, and al-Ḥdeke; in the depression of al-Baddâk are the wells of aš-Šlubi, to the southwest of these those of al-'Arejfeġ, and to the southeast of the last the well of Kaḥlûle. To the north of Kaḥlûle beyond the low rocks of ar-Râ'i stretches the lowland Fejzat al-Ḥșâne, to the east of which lie the rain ponds Ḥabra abu Ṭarbûš and Ḥabra Swêt. In al-Bâten the watering place of Bšûk is to be found on the northeastern edge of the desert of ad-Dhana. To the east of Kaḥlûle lie the rain pools of Abu Hiše, and still farther northeast the well of al-Ḥafr, the ruins and wells of Ḳašr Sa'ûd, and the watering place Ġaw ar-Reḳ'i.¹⁸

The scarp of Ḥkej al-Ḳsâš extends as far as al-Bâten. The rain pond of al-Ma'ejzlijje at the base of this scarp is filled from the depression of al-Baddâk, which comes across al-Ġrajba from the southwest. To the southeast of al-Ma'ejzlijje are the wells of Umm Rużuma and al-'Oḳoba, beyond which the escarpment is surmounted by the tabular hills of al-Ḥarma and al-Mrêwe. Al-Amnaḥ is a water hole in the rocky face of the escarpment.

It was four o'clock before the Aslami had returned with the water. At 5.32 we departed from al-Bâten and turned into the Ḥabb ummu Ġrejf, where we pitched our camp at 8.16. We made no fire that night.

ḤABB UMMU ĠREJF TO WELLS OF UMMU ĠREJF

On February 2, 1915, we were in our saddles at 5.04. We passed through the Ḥabb ummu Ġrejf, which forms a con-

¹⁸ Jâkût, *Mu'ġam* (Wüstenfeld). Vol. 2, p. 804, states that ar-Ruḳaj'i is a watering place between Mecca and al-Bašra.

tinuation of the Ḥabb al-Ġuhfa and is skirted on its southern side by the sand strip 'Erž al-Maẓhûr, its northern side being bordered by the Nawâzi-s-Sejjerijjât. From 6.35 to 7.00 we rested. The Aslami who had fetched us water from al-Ġrejbe rode with us for supplies of food to his camp somewhere near the southern extremity of as-Sejjerijjât. The whole time he was with us he talked continually. Nâzel said to him:

"Ninety thousand Šammar came to see us. They told us various pieces of news, but all of them put together did not know one fourth of what thou knowest. Thou hast so filled our bellies that we shall not digest thy news in our lifetime."

"Still, what I have told is true."

"I see and I believe it. To be sure, people say that the Aslam are the greatest liars and chatterboxes, but thou, brother, art neither liar nor chatterbox."

After the Aslami had departed, Nâzel said: "May Allâh send a plague on his tongue! My ears are aching and he has filled my belly with his talk, so that no room is left in it even for the smoke of my cigarette. Nice tribes are these of ours! The Šammar are divided into four *bedâjed* (tribes): the 'Abde, the Singâra, the Tûmân, and the Aslam. However, the last two are not worth a carrot, and it were better if they did not belong to the Šammar. The Tûmân must always have their own way, different from that of the other tribes. Thus, for instance, quite two-thirds of the Tûmân camp with Eben Sa'ûd at present and those who are in our territory trust neither Eben Rašîd nor us, the other Šammar, and so we do not even include them among the Šammar and prefer to speak of the Dřerât as the fourth of the Šammar tribes.

"The Aslam are liars and talkers. If thou meetest an Aslami he gives thee a curt salutation and asks forthwith: 'From us or from thee? (*minna wala mink*),' to wit, 'shall I tell news to thee or wilt thou tell it to me?' However, he does not wait till thou givest thy answer, but begins to talk. He will tell all he knows, even the greatest secret, and will always increase and never decrease. He will open his mouth, snap his teeth not unlike a wild beast, splutter till thou art wet all over, and hold thee lest thou shouldst escape before he has done.

"The Šammar ask among themselves: 'Which are those who talk too much and spread inconsiderate news? (*bâre'in al-čalâm 'ağelîn al-'alâm*).'

"If somebody guesses correctly and says 'They are of the Aslam,' the first man adds:

"'May Allâh not bless the Aslam! (*allâh lâ jubâreč bâl aslam*).' Many Šammar believe that the Aslam are descended from the Jews. The same is believed regarding the inhabitants of al-Ḳašîm, the 'Aḳejl, as they are always after profit and deceive the Bedouins."

A fairly violent wind was blowing from the southeast. Nâzel asserted that to the south of al-Ḥajjâniĵje the wind generally blows from the southeast while to the north of this locality the winds usually come from the west or northwest. At 12.10 we arrived at the end of the Ḥabb ummu Ġrejĵ. To the east of this rises the Še'afet Marbaṭ al-Faras, a black upland, and to the west the dunes of al-Bêsiĵje and al-Meġles emerge. On the northern base of the 'Erż al-Mazhûr there was an abundance of *naši*, *barwak*, *nefel*, *hawdân*, *ramrâm*, *sa'dân*, *kurrêš*, *hemhem*, *tarbe*, *basbâs*, *ribla*, *sel*, *swejže*, *soboṭ*, *šikkâra*, *zamrân*, *niĵd*, and *šfâr*. From 3.15 to 5.54 we rested on a modest grass patch overgrown with low *ṭalh* bushes and various grasses and then proceeded to the camp of the Bedouins, where we bivouacked at 7.10. Eben Rašîd had ordered the 'Abde and Singâra tribes to remove to al-Ḳašîm and camp near his forces, which were engaged in the conquest of the various settlements. As he could freely distribute gold and arms and the settlements gave good promise of spoils, many chiefs obeyed and followed him. However, they were beginning to get tired of their southern quarters. There was very little booty after all, and that little was taken by Eben Rašîd's slaves and mercenaries. Since his stores in the camp at as-Sejjeriĵjât had been plundered, the army had had no commissariat and had robbed the Šammar encamped in the vicinity.

The Šammar with whom we stayed overnight watered their flocks and drew water from Ummu Ġrejĵ. These wells are situated between the Tu'ûs al-Meġles and a rocky upland extending to the east and on the southeast connecting with the tabular hills of al-Mġazzal and al-'Orma', between which the wells of al-Artawijjât are situated. Here in 1908 the faithful Wahhâbites belonging to the brotherhood of the Eḥwân founded their first settlement. To the southwest of al-Mġazzal stretches the rocky plain of as-Sbala, beyond which the hillocks of Umm Ḥejriš emerge. The hills of al-

Mğazzal and al-Orma' enclose the basin of Zellêrif, in which the run-off collects and irrigates the gardens of the settlements of al-Kabr (or Tajjebt Ism), al-Minsaf, and at-Twêrât. In a time of peace among the Bedouins it would be possible to resettle the oasis of al-Ağrâb, situated to the northeast of the settlement of at-Twêrât, and also the oasis at Ġaw umm al-Ġemâgem to the west of al-Minsaf. To the south of these settlements the rich oasis of az-Zilfi lies on the south-eastern slope of the Umm Hejrîs, and to the west of it the somewhat smaller oasis of al-Ĥamdijje is situated.

On February 3, 1915, I was again very ill. The fits of vomiting and colic recurred, and my temperature rose to 39.2°C (102.6°F). Yet it was necessary to visit Eben Rašîd, to whom our arrival had been announced by the warriors from the encampment of Eben Raĥîs, by the negro in the red caftan, and by other riders who had seen us on the previous day.

AT THE ŠAMMAR CAMP; NEGOTIATIONS WITH SA'ÛD

At 6.40 we set out in a southwesterly direction into the sandy tract of at-Twêrât; this is full of dunes, from the sharp edges of which the rising sun seemed to strike a rain of sparks. After 7.00 we descried a group of white tents on a fairly large sandy plain and at 7.10 stopped in a shallow depression to the north of them. We had not yet unloaded our camels when slaves came, five on foot and one mounted on a camel, and wished to assist us. Nâzel expressed his gratitude with many acknowledgements but did not permit them to touch a thing. The slave on the camel announced that he had been ordered to be my servant during my stay with the Prince. Nâzel extolled the generosity of the Prince and invited the negro to take a rest, as I had no use for his services. After a moment we saw about twenty slaves dragging towards us a large white tent which they had been ordered by the Prince to pitch for us. I declared that I was a guest of the Prince but wished to remain in my own tent. The slaves retired and Nâzel whispered into my ear:

"Mûsa, acknowledge thy thanks for everything but do not accept anything. We are free men in our own, but slaves in what belongs to the Prince. Great precautions must be taken against the slaves; they will examine all our property and steal something for themselves; of some other thing they will

apprise the Prince, and he will get it out of us by importunity. The slave assigned to thy service by the Prince is all that we need. We will indulge his conceit and he will keep the other vermin at a distance from us."

The behavior of Nâzel was a model one. He hated the minister Sa'ûd as well as his insolent slaves and soldiers, he begrudged them everything that might be issued to them out of my stores, and he economized in order that much might be left for him and his relatives.

When my tent was pitched the minister Sa'ûd eben Subhân came to bid me welcome. He was about twenty-five years of age, short of stature, thin, and of a swarthy complexion with blubber lips and a pug nose. His left eye was affected with cataract. He smiled and spoke sweet words, but his looks were fierce and he seemed ready to spring. He never looked in the direction in which his face was turned. If his face was turned to the left, his sound eye looked to the right. When speaking to me he averted his face and yet looked into my eyes with a fixed gaze. I felt very soon that he had conceived a hatred for me. My presence crossed his interests. He knew me to be a great friend of an-Nûri and Nawwâf and to be acquainted with Eben Sa'ûd, and he had good reason to fear that I might thwart his plans. He hated to see me accompanied by Nâzel eben Tnejjân, a warrior very popular with the Singâra. He asked me where Allâh had brought me in company with Nâzel. I invited Nâzel, who was squatting by the entrance to my tent and serving us with coffee, to give his own account of our first meeting and was much surprised by Nâzel's narrative, which ran somewhat as follows:

"O Sa'ûd, may Allâh send thee a happy morning! I am not an Aslami nor am I a poet, and so I shall not enhance my words. It is well known to thee that seventy days ago I placed myself at the head of forty camel riders and set out against the Rwala. Thy slave it was who invited me to do so. We watered our she-camels at Şwêr and, after the departure of Nawwâf, we took from the inhabitants of the oasis of al-Ğowf twenty she-camels. Some returned home with the booty, and the rest proceeded farther with me. In the lava zone we arrived at a high volcano. I hid my comrades in a deep gully and rode to the volcano with my friend Zāmrân. We dismounted at a good distance from the mountain; I then entrusted my she-camel to Zāmrân and told him to

wait for me on the same spot and, if I were long in returning, to await me under a *riġm* (cairn) that was to be seen to the south of us. I left my rifle, ammunition, and cloak with Zamrân, went to the volcano, and, hidden behind stones, reconnoitered the environs. Presently I saw columns of dust stirred up in the north. First I believed it to be 'aġġâġ (dust whirl), but there was no wind. It was no 'aġġâġ but a strong band of riders mounted on camels. They were approaching the volcano on which I was lying prostrate. I crept a little lower and pressed my body in between two crags, lest a stranger who by chance might ascend the volcano should spy me. The riders arrived close to the base of the volcano, and, while their camels were in pasture, three men scaled the top of the mountain without noticing me. Afterwards they departed at a trot towards the place where my friends lay hidden. I addressed prayers to Allâh, beseeching him to watch over both them and me. Two thirds of the riders were of the Rwala and one third of the Hwêġât. They were raiders.

"After they had disappeared I descended and hastened to the hiding place of my friend; however, he was not there. From the tracks of our two camels I inferred that he had not ridden to the appointed *riġm*, but to a gully where my band was to wait. Then I went there but did not see anyone. The tracks in the sand told me that my companions had left at a trot to the southeast. I believed that they would stop at some place and wait till I had caught up with them; and so I followed on their tracks until nightfall; they, however, traveled at the same rate. I had neither food nor ammunition, and the way to al-Ġowf was long. So I turned to the north and resolved to proceed to a camp of the Rwala or the Hwêġât, our enemies. I drank from puddles of water, and the roots of dry herbs served for my food. After a further two days and nights I grew so weak that I remained in the desert, lying prostrate on the ground and awaiting my departure from this world. However, Muḥammad abu Tâjeh discovered me and conveyed me to his tent. Five days elapsed and I again stood on my feet. I narrated to Muḥammad that I was traveling to Nawwâf with despatches from Fahad when my two companions treacherously robbed me of my property and left me behind. It was a lie but one that did nobody any harm, for I did not give any names. I was compelled to spin this yarn, as otherwise the Rwala would have killed me. Why,

I was on an expedition against them, and this hand of mine had destroyed six Durmân at the station of Zubâla. I trembled with fear lest my dear old mother would never see me again. Indeed there was no one to save me, should the Rwala have learned that I was on an expedition against them. In that case there is no shadow of doubt but that the Durmân would have killed me. Hence I was anxious to get away from the Rwala; but how could it be managed and with whom? Allâh sent me this Mûsa, who promised to get me away from the territory of the Rwala and to see that no Rwejli should venture to hurt me by word or act. He defended me against an-Nûri when, distrusting me, the latter declined to provide me with a she-camel. Mûsa threatened the Durmân with punishment if they should hurt me, and he dispersed the dogs from the oasis of al-Ġowf when I was cornered by them. And, in return for all this, I have promised to see him out of the Šammar territory and to punish everyone — I say everyone — who would hurt him whether by word or deed. This is the way, O Sa'ûd, in which I, Nâzel, have come to know this Mûsa!"

The minister Sa'ûd remained silent for a while and then said:

"I have heard from those who have taken part in thy raid and returned (*menâčif*) that the Rwala killed thee on that volcano. So we were told by Zamrân, thy companion."

"I shall settle accounts with Zamrân."

Sa'ûd motioned and Nâzel retired.

The minister asked me what had brought me to Eben Rašîd. When he heard that I would have him make peace with Eben Ša'lân and Eben Sa'ûd, he said:

"Enver Pasha has already despatched four delegations to the Prince for the same purpose, but the Prince has convinced them of the fact that both Eben Ša'lân and Eben Sa'ûd are allied with the infidel Inklîz, and so he cannot but destroy them. The Prince has proclaimed *ġihâd* against both of them."

"The Caliph has proclaimed *ġihâd* against the infidels only. Is it that Eben Ša'lân and Eben Sa'ûd belong to the infidels?"

"They are both allied with the infidels and thus are more wicked than they."

"How doest thou come to know that they are allies of the infidels?"

"Thou knowest it well, O Mûsa! Eben Ša'lân ought to have been hanged for his transgressions five years ago. Thou

hast saved him from death, and he has ever since hated the Government, and to oppose it or our Prince he does everything in his power, for he knows the Prince to be a loyal servant of the Government. Eben Sa'ûd has expelled the Government from the province of al-Ḥasa and supported the tribes that are in revolt against the Prince. Thus both Eben Ša'lân and Eben Sa'ûd are enemies of the Government and of the Prince. However, our friends must not be friends of our enemies."

"O Sa'ûd! Do not forget that it was the Prince who, five years ago, expelled the Government from the oasis of Tejma and supported the clans that were revolting against it. Thus even thy Prince is an enemy of the Government and a friend of its enemies."

"But the Government deprived the Prince of Tejma."

"Still, it was the Government that promised hospitality to an-Nûri and then cast him treacherously into prison. And again it was the Government that years ago deprived Eben Sa'ûd of the province of al-Ḥasa."

"The Prince acted rightfully at Tejma, as was admitted even by the Government itself; in return the Government sent him arms, ammunition, and a car that travels of its own accord."

"The Government has promised help and many gifts to Eben Ša'lân and nominated Eben Sa'ûd governor and supreme commander of Neġd."

"This was a mere trick of the Government, resorted to only to puzzle both Eben Ša'lân and Eben Sa'ûd."

"How dost thou know that the Government does not wish to puzzle thy Prince, too?"

"Enver Pasha has made a promise to that effect."

"The same promise he has made to Eben Ša'lân and Eben Sa'ûd."

"They are allied with the Inkliz and cannot be trusted by Enver Pasha, but the Prince, his ally, can."

"Enver Pasha suggested peace with both. Will the Prince regard his suggestion?"

"No, he never will."

"Allâh will arrange matters so that he will."

Sa'ûd retired and I sank into reflections.

About noon the negro assigned to me brought me a large wether and invited Nâzel to visit the minister Sa'ûd. After an hour Nâzel returned and said:

"O Mûsa! Sa'ûd is very angry that I have brought thee here. He inquired what thy business with an-Nûri was and urged me either to quit thy service or to leave tomorrow along with thee for Kerbela in Irak, going by way of al-Ḥẓul. Be very careful and do not take any coffee or tea unless the Prince has taken some himself!"

FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS WITH EBEN RAŠĪD

At 3.00 a negro came with word from Sa'ûd inviting us to appear before the Prince. I was accompanied by Nâzel and 'Abdallâh, an-Nûri's slave. A marquee some fifteen meters long; five meters wide, and three meters high was pitched on the plain amidst the ordinary field tents. The narrow side facing the north was open wide. Outside it stood the four standards of Eben Rašîd's soldiers. Alongside the tent the various chiefs, prominent settlers, and slaves stood assembled by the walls. The Prince and Sa'ûd stood within, with their sides turned to the head wall. After I had exchanged salutations with the Prince I seated myself to the left of him on the floor.

Prince Sa'ûd, son of 'Abdal'azîz, was a youth about sixteen years of age, tall, emaciated, and languid, with dull sleepy eyes. A slave poured out some coffee for me. I handed the cup to the Prince and drank only after he had drunk. He inquired about my health and my journey and then was silent. Every question was first whispered into his ear by the minister. After a while the slave fetched some very sweet tea, which I again took only after the Prince had partaken; then I asked leave to retire. The Prince, the minister, and all the others rose. 'Abdallâh stepped forward and handed me the letters from an-Nûri and Nawwâf. I passed them both to the Prince and retired.

When back in our tent Nâşer informed me that the negro assigned to me persistently repeated his inquiries as to what we had in our luggage, and that he wished him to tell me that the Prince had no rice, flour, barley, blankets, etc., as the enemies of the Government had robbed him off all these things. I answered:

"Say to the slave: 'All that we have is only for ourselves and our guests. Here we are the guests of the Prince. If he has no provisions, we shall draw on our own stores.'"

In the evening I unpacked two repeaters with telescopic sights, two pistols with a hundred cartridges each, and sent them by, Nâzel and the negro to the Prince and to Sa'ûd.

On February 4, 1915, we changed our encampment. Accompanied by our negro, we set out at 8.30 in a southwesterly direction. In front of us rode a group of soldiers on camels with the Prince and four standards in their midst. Before long we caught up with three she-camels, one of which carried a veiled litter in which the wife of the Prince was seated. From 10.20 to 10.50 we rested. The way was very troublesome, as to the south of Ummu Ğrejf the Nefûd is full of *ka'ar* (hollows) which had to be avoided. The region was overgrown with *sollejân*, *naši*, and *soboṭ*. At one o'clock a pitch was allotted to us for our tents in a *ka'ara* within about one kilometer of the tent of the Prince. In the vicinity grew *tarbe*, *nefel*, *ḥasak*, *ḥalôla*, *şikḳâra*, *šilwa*, *žirna*, *makr*, *weḥerra*, *ḥawdân*, *zerî*, and *zahr*.

About four o'clock we were engulfed in a cloud of locusts. The Šammar believe that locusts are hatched in the sea, from which they are ejected on the mainland by whales. They have a queen, green and blue in color. The queen decides where the locusts shall alight and where they are to go. The locusts ejected by whales (*ḥowt*) are reddish and are called *al-bḥari* or *al-ḥejtân*. In the desert their red color turns to green. The male is called *az-za'êri*, the female being known as *dammân*.

In the evening I was invited to the Prince. He was seated in a high tent by the side of a low camp bed on which lay the repeater I had given him the preceding day. He did not know how to manage the telescopic sights. Sa'ûd was again by his side, whispering into his ear what he wished him to tell me. I showed him how the rifle was handled and then requested him to make peace with an-Nûri, Nawwâf, and Eben Sa'ûd. Again Sa'ûd prompted in a whisper: "I cannot," which he repeated aloud. Seeing that he was a mere tool in the hands of the minister, I declared my intention of not departing from his camp before he had made peace; then I withdrew from his tent. Sa'ûd accompanied me, Nâzel following at our heels. Then Sa'ûd requested me to return by al-Hzûl to Kerbela in the territory of the Turkish Government.

"O Sa'ûd, yesterday thou saidst to me that the Prince was a servant of the Government. If that be the case, his district is governmental territory and I may stay on it. But

even if it be not so, I shall stay here as long as it pleases Allâh and me. O Sa'ûd, thou hadst not yet mounted a camel when I was already traversing the desert in whatever direction I listed. There was nobody to command me, nobody to restrain me, and even now nobody will prevent me from acting in accordance with my own wishes. Thou knowest what has brought me to the territory of Eben Rašîd. Give me thy help that I may accomplish what I desire to attain, and I shall depart."

"The Prince will not make peace with an-Nûri and Nawwâf unless he receives back al-Ġowf and is indemnified."

"Eben Rašîd wrested al-Ġowf from Eben Ša'lân sixty years ago and did him much damage. Eben Ša'lân has taken that of which Eben Rašîd unlawfully deprived him and he has also taken his own redress. All he desires is peace. Make peace without framing thy terms."

"I shall not make peace with Eben Ša'lân, who is a friend of the infidel Inklîz, not while I am in Eben Rašîd's service."

"O Sa'ûd, I do not intend to raise thy anger. Thou reproachest Eben Ša'lân with friendship toward the Inklîz. Thou hast no proofs. Nawwâf eben Ša'lân alleges that thou acceptest gold from the Franġ, Inklîz, and Turks, and he claims to possess documents which would provide sufficient evidence."

"By Allâh! This is a lie, a lie, a lie! I shall annihilate the liar!"

"O Sa'ûd, Allâh will discriminate between the truth and the lie. Nawwâf is my friend. If thou dost not make peace with him and with an-Nûri, I shall send word and within twenty-five days thy rear will be hemmed in by the warriors of Eben Ša'lân and thy van will be attacked by Eben Sa'ûd, or, more exactly, by the members of the Eben Rašîd family and their Šammar. I take an oath by Allâh that I will keep my word."

"Neither thou nor anyone of thine will leave this territory alive."

On hearing this, Nâzel sprang near and said:

"O Sa'ûd, here thou seest standing Mûsa and here thou seest standing Nâzel eben Tnejjân. Who has hurt Mûsa has also hurt Eben Tnejjân."

Sa'ûd eyed him a while and then withdrew in silence.

Nâzel urged me: "Mûsa, do not give way! We will defeat this descendant of a slave."

On February 5, 1915, I got up very early, as I could not sleep. In the morning we learned that the Prince would again move on. At 8.15 we set out almost due west. The sand drifts extended from the northeast to the southwest, defining countless *ḥbûb*. To the south of us were the settlements of at-Twêrât, al-Minsaf, and al-Ḳabr. From 10.30 to 11.05 we rested.

EBEN RAŠÎD AGREES TO PEACE PROPOSALS

At 12.30 we pitched our camp by the waters of al-Ḥmûdijje. At three o'clock Sa'ûd sent word announcing his visit. He was extraordinarily bland and assured me of his friendship. He said that in order to show his amicable disposition the Prince would make peace with an-Nûri and Nawwâf. I thanked him and requested that he should forthwith write letters to that effect. He declined, however, to comply with my request and pleaded that an oral declaration was quite sufficient.

"An-Nûri and Nawwâf have proposed peace to the Prince in written form, and so it behooves the Prince to express his concurrence in writing."

I dictated the two letters; he wrote them and then marked them with the Prince's signet ring. This done, I requested him to read the letters in Nâzel's presence. As he was reluctant to do this, I invited Nâzel to enter and read them before him. Then I enjoined Nâzel to report the news to the Singâra and 'Abde tribes, whose territory adjoins that of Nawwâf. Nâzel fetched 'Obejdallâh, to whom I handed the two letters in the presence of Sa'ûd and Nâzel after I had first read them to him.

Now that peace with an-Nûri and Nawwâf had been concluded, we began to discuss peace with Eben Sa'ûd also.

"Fain would I, O Mûsa, prevail upon the Prince that he make peace with Eben Sa'ûd, but he must not do so, as Enver Pasha has strictly enjoined him to wage war against Eben Sa'ûd."

"Enver Pasha has told me explicitly that he wished Eben Rašîd to make peace with Eben Sa'ûd and that he has already despatched four delegations to that end."

"I know not what Enver Pasha has told thee but I am aware of what he has written to the Prince. I have satisfied the delegates that Eben Sa'ûd sides with the Inkîz, and in consequence the Prince must wage war against him."

"Well, then, tomorrow I shall start for al-'Ela', where I shall ask Enver Pasha by telegraph and then return with the final decision."

"Thou, Mûsa, to al-'Ela'? And from al-'Ela' to us? I shall not permit thee to expose thyself to such danger."

"I shall go to al-'Ela' and return to thee. I must know which of us is right. We must all depart from this world and, if I do so on the way to or from al-'Ela', thou shalt not be held responsible."

"Still, the Prince will not permit thee to expose thyself to such danger."

"Nâzel will accompany me."

I called for Nâzel, who was seated by the tent, and asked:

"Brother Nâzel, wilt thou go with me to al-'Ela' and back to the Prince?"

"By Allâh! I will go, of course."

Sa'ûd remained silent for a while and then rose to his feet and withdrew, motioning Nâzel to accompany him. When Nâzel returned he told me that Sa'ûd had invited him not to accompany me; to which he replied that Eben Tnejjân had never been known to break his word.

"Mûsa, I shall go along with thee to al-'Ela' and shall return hither with thee. Whether we shall visit the Prince then again, I do not know. Sa'ûd will not permit it. It will, however, suffice if we bring a definite answer and circulate it among the Šammar. We are sick of this warfare. The herds and flocks of the Šammar are longing for better pasture lands. The Singâra will defend thee, Mûsa, and so will many of the 'Abde clans. We shall leave thy tired-out camels and their loads with my family and then shall proceed like robbers (*ma-âjîr*) on light camels to al-'Ela', whither thou hast long been wishing to go."

In the evening we determined the latitude and prepared for departure.

On February 6, 1915, we were ready to set out at 7.00. We had, however, to wait till the Prince had sent me a mare and a riding camel as gifts. It was a long and melancholy wait. I was eager to leave the camp of Eben Rašîd, where I might have been shot dead by "accident." I was also given a warning by the generous negro 'Abdallâh, the standard bearer of the Berzân district, who had served in the time of Prince Muḥammad and bitterly complained of the present

decline in the quality of the family. He stole up to us by a great detour, hid himself behind a tall growth of *arṭa* by which I was seated with Nâzel, and urged me to beware of Sa‘ûd and his slaves. When, said he, Sa‘ûd had returned from seeing me on the preceding day, he told his slaves:

“A great reward will be granted to him who first brings me the pleasant tidings of Mûsa’s death. But woe betide him who would intentionally kill him!”

As ‘Abdallâh was intimately acquainted with Nâzel, he had come to warn us; then he stole away as cautiously as he had come, for he feared it might cost him his head.

At 9.00 a negro at last came bringing a young but emaciated mare, and another slave brought a fine ash-gray she-camel. They declared that both were sent by the Prince. I expressed my thanks to the Prince, saying: “*Karram aš-šujûh allâh* (may Allâh show himself generous toward the Prince),” and requested the slaves to offer the mare and she-camel to the Prince as a present from me. Frequently the plural *šujûh* seems to mean the Prince alone, although sometimes it is applied not merely to the Prince but also to other chiefs camping with him. The phrase ‘*enda-š-šujûh*’ (with the chiefs) denotes the tents or camp of the ruling family. At 9.20 we were again in our saddles. After a while I stopped with Nâzel outside the tent of the Prince. He did not speak a single word to me. Sa‘ûd reminded me that he was my friend. After I had gone he whispered something to Nâzel, who, however, made a sudden move, mounted his camel, and followed in my track.

CHAPTER III

THE ŠAMMAR CAMP TO MOWKAK

THE ŠAMMAR CAMP TO THE CAMP OF THE EBEN TNEJJÂN NEAR HNEZEL

At 9.42 we quitted the encampment of Eben Rašîd. Nâzel said:

"Dost thou know, Mûsa, what that slave said to me? I should, said he, see thee as far as beyond Eġa' and desert thee on the frontiers of the Šammar territory; I have only to tell the Weld Slejmân of thee and thou wilt be despatched by them and I shall have fulfilled my oath, as in that way I shall have seen thee safe and sound out of the Šammar territory; after which thy stores will be divided between me and Sa'ûd. So has spoken Sa'ûd, son of Šâleh eben Subhân, with me who am Nâzel, son of Dûhi eben Tnejjân."

Nowhere else in Arabia have I met with such perfidy; but I found that Sa'ûd really had spoken thus.

At 10.30, as we found fresh *alġa*, *fnûn*, *ḡurrêš*, *žirna*, *niġd*, and *kaġ'a*, we stopped to permit the camels to graze and to get rid of the negro whom the Prince had assigned to my service. Nâzel advised me to give him only four *meġġidijjât* (\$3.60), which he considered enough for such a slave of such a master. I handed six *meġġidijjât* (\$5.40) to Nâzel, who passed them on to the negro. The latter returned the money with the observation that he served only at one Turkish pound per day.

"O brother dear, then hasten to thine uncle and serve him only! Why, the Mtejr have captured his exchequer, but no doubt he has the gold pounds in his pocket. But, brother dear, do not obstruct thine own way to paradise. Eben Wahhâb, thy teacher, warned against gold, and so, wishing to protect thee from sin, I give thee these four silver *meġġidijjât* and in order to propitiate thy master, I add another two. Put them in thy pocket or I shall put them into mine."

The negro took the money, mounted his she-camel, and departed. Nâzel whispered: "Leech! Louse!"

At 11.07 we proceeded on our journey, taking to the Ḥabb ar-Roẓom, which is separated by a narrow strip of sand from the Ḥabb at-Talh.

After the victory at al-Ağrâb the slaves and mercenaries of Eben Rašîd had set forth in bands of fifty riders each in order to attack the isolated habitations occupied mostly by the members of the Ḥarb tribe in the valley of ar-Rma'. The warriors of Eben Rašîd took picks with them and approached the garden walls by night, made breaches in the masonry, and when they had penetrated to the houses dug through the adobe walls, butchered the inhabitants within, captured all the stores, and brought them to Sa'ûd. The inhabitants of the settlements of Tennûme, at-Trejf, Ab-ad-Dûd, and Ḥnêzel were terrified and appealed to Eben Rašîd for peace. He was prepared to comply with their request but demanded many loads of provisions and all their arms. The inhabitants of 'Ajn eben Fhejd, however, had fired at the army of Eben Rašîd, and this settlement of 170 houses and strong walls was now offering a gallant resistance. Eben Rašîd had invested it all around and had begun to destroy the gardens outside the walls. Every now and then we could hear the report of a field gun resounding across the silent desert.

At twelve o'clock we crossed the trail that leads south-southwest to 'Ajn eben Fhejd. At 3.30 we left the Ḥabb ar-Roẓom and continued through sand until 4.14, when we camped in a *ka'ara*.

On February 7, 1915, starting at 5.20, we traversed a strip of sand and got into the Ḥabb at-Talh, through which after 5.40 our way bore to the west. From 6.40 to 6.53 we rested on the border of the Ḥabb al-Kôh.

Nâzel talked of the halcyon days of the past, such as the Šammar had seen in the time of the Prince Muḥammad. The members of the reigning family kept their own falconers and packs of greyhounds (*silek*), with which they would set forth to hunt. They would take fine large tents with them and not infrequently spend a whole month abroad in the country, traveling from mountain to mountain, from plain to plain. Each family owned its own hunting grounds, on which the Bedouins were forbidden to pasture their flocks while hunting was still in progress. Of the Šammar chiefs the one who most frequently accompanied them was Eben Rmâl. Never had Eben Tnejjân been their servant. Where Eben Rmâl was,

there Eben Tnejjân could not stay. The two houses of Rmâl and Tnejjân were divided from each other by seventeen cut throats that clamored to be avenged. Eben Rmâl slew ten members of the Tnejjân family and Eben Tnejjân was responsible for the deaths of seven members of the Eben Rmâl's family. Despite all this they would willingly come to a reconciliation, for even Eben Rmâl hated the minister Sa'ûd, the descendant of a slave.

At 9.00 we saw the first herd belonging to the family of Eben Tnejjân. The herdsmen rushed from all quarters to welcome Nâzel, whom they all had given up for dead. After a while in the foreground we sighted a long narrow strip from which smoke kept rising. It was a trench dug in the sand, at the bottom of which the women had made a fire into which they were chasing swarms of locusts. The somewhat singed insects were picked out and dried on the sand. When dry, they were ground down or stowed away whole in bags. The inhabitants—men and women, old and young—hastened from the camp to greet Nâzel. Last of all came a dear little old woman dressed in a man's cloak. When Nâzel saw her, he instantly dismounted from his camel, ran to meet her, embraced and kissed her again and again. She called out: "Dear little son," and he replied: "Dear old mother." It was long since I had seen so much love, so much joy. Nâzel conducted his old mother to me. She wished to kiss my feet. I immediately alighted and also folded her to my bosom. She wept and stroked my cheeks, as I had brought her her only son. We pitched our tents about three hundred meters in front of Nâzel's tent. It was 10.18 when we arrived in the camp of Eben Tnejjân. We were safe! In the evening Chief Fahad eben Tnejjân, Nâzel's cousin, came to bid me welcome. Nâzel did not permit others to annoy me, as I was ill. The reports of the field gun could still be heard coming from 'Ajn eben Fhejd.

On February 8, 1915, in the forenoon, I overhauled photographic plates, herbs, and sundry things which I intended to take to al-'Ela'. In the afternoon I charted the Salma mountains and the region between these mountains and the valley of ar-Rma'. In the evening we determined the time and latitude.

On February 9, 1915, Chief Fahad eben Tnejjân called on me again. We discussed the policy of the minister Sa'ûd. Fahad was of the opinion that Sa'ûd was waging war merely to prevent the reinstatement of the banished members of the

house of Eben Rašîd. He complained that the herds did not have enough pasture in al-Ḳašîm and said that the various Bedouins were combining against Sa'ûd, who had forced them to stay in al-Ḳašîm with him. Chiefs Eben Ġibrîn and Eben Mhajjer of the 'Abde, on whom, so far, the kindred of Eben Rašîd had depended, wished (said Fahad) to depart, and in consequence Sa'ûd had despatched 230 of his soldiers against them and was intending to do away with me lest I should meet them. I then requested Fahad to make an agreement with the chiefs of the 'Abde as well as with the other Sinġâra chiefs all to desert Sa'ûd at the same time. Fahad was of the opinion that it would be best if I spoke personally with the leading chiefs and expressed his willingness to send for them. In the evening they met in my tent. I recalled the days of peace and warfare in the time of Muḥammad eben Rašîd and inquired as to the causes of the warfare of the last fifteen years. They all declared that this warfare was due to the feuds in the house of Eben Rašîd.

"Why should you suffer from the feuds of the Eben Rašîd family? You are Bedouins, and they are settlers. Why should the Bedouin suffer for the sake of the settler? Your ancestors joined Eben Rašîd voluntarily and only because he was strong and defended them against the enemy. Now, however, that Eben Rašîd is weak, he no longer protects you from your enemies and, moreover, he incites you to strife with those who are related to you by blood. You have joined him voluntarily and voluntarily you may turn away from him. Send word to Eben Rašîd's house telling them to settle accounts by themselves."

"Dost thou think, Mûsa, we had best banish the house of Eben Rašîd?"

"Not so. The Eben Rašîd are settlers and as such have their adherents and their adversaries among the settlers of Hâjel and other settlements. As you Bedouins cannot beleaguer the various settlements, the Eben Rašîd cannot be expelled by you. Leave this task to the settlers. If they realize that you no longer take any interest in the Eben Rašîd, they will do the work themselves. Moreover, if a man be placed at the head of the family of Eben Rašîd whom all the settlers will recognize as their lord, then also you may join him; but he must have sprung from the house of Eben Rašîd and not be descended from a slave!"

"We will not obey Sa'ûd, the descendent of a slave! We have only been waiting for the time when the son of 'Abdal-'azîz shall have grown to manhood."

"The son of 'Abdal-'azîz has grown to manhood and the son of a slave continues his rule, and you submit to it."

"What shall we do?"

"League together and act in concert! You may get rid of the minister Sa'ûd or you may give up, temporarily at least, the family of Eben Rašîd. Make up your minds now. You can accomplish either if you withdraw from al-Ḳašîm all in a body and repair to your own pasture lands."

"Sa'ûd has received so much gold and so many arms from the Government that he may despatch numbers of mercenaries against us, and we shall have no ammunition."

"Threaten to join Eben Ša'lân and Eben Sa'ûd forthwith, if he declines to leave you in peace. Do not forget that Sa'ûd and his slaves and soldiers would starve to death if he alienated your friendship and you obstructed his way to Irak, whence his provisions come. Do not begin any fights. Set off for your pasture lands and pay no heed to Sa'ûd and Eben Rašîd. I have made peace with Eben Ša'lân, and his warriors will not molest you. I shall try to make peace also between you and Eben Sa'ûd. Let Eben Rašîd and his minister Sa'ûd fight their fights in total isolation."

"They wage wars, and we must feed them and protect them."

"Well, then, what share has so far been allotted to you out of the booty captured in the conquered settlements? Why, have you no pity for the wretched settlers who paid you even in expectation of protection? Every settlement sent you dates, sheep, and clothing. What will you get after the slaves of Sa'ûd have felled the palms, slaughtered the sheep, demolished and plundered the houses? Give up the minister and his feeble prince and do not obey them, when you will only do yourselves harm by listening to their advice."

The chiefs resolved to enter into negotiations with other chiefs and to depart within a very short time. They were pleased that I had compelled Sa'ûd to make peace with Eben Ša'lân and requested me also to arrange peace with Eben Sa'ûd. I promised to attempt it after I had returned from al-'Ela'.

It had been my desire to visit al-'Ela' in order that I might explore the region situated south of the Nefûd. I also

wished to save the scientific material so far accumulated. In addition to this I was interested in the political situation among the tribes north of al-Medīna.

With the assistance of a few Bedouins, my companions treated our camels for mange which they had caught when in the dirty stables at Damascus. From the most affected parts the hair was first removed and afterwards the camels were daubed from head to heels with two coats of hot tar mixed with butter. The tar we had brought from Damascus. Had this treatment been repeated after a fortnight and the camels remained without saddles, they would have been cured. However, we had need of them all that time, could not cleanse the saddles, and so the disease recurred and spread.

The reports of the field gun at ʿAjn eben Fhejd could still be heard with increased intervals between them.

On February 10, 1915, a cold northwest wind blew the whole day. In the forenoon I did my cartographic work and in the afternoon overhauled all my luggage. I placed Nâzer, the tent, stores, and camels under the protection of Chief Fahad eben Tnejjân. Besides Nâzel, only Ḥalaf and Maṣṣûr were to accompany me to al-ʿEla'. Each of us rode on a camel, two camels carrying water, provisions, my round tent, and various things which I intended to send to Damascus. Nâzel's mother came in the evening, imploring me to protect her dear son in the territory of the insidious and predatory Weld Slejmân and Weld ʿAli. A Bedouin believes that the clans which he does not know and with which he has no connection must be false and treacherous, and he gives the most grotesque accounts of them. Before noon the rumble of the field gun at ʿAjn eben Fhejd died away.

NEAR ḤNÊZEL TO NÂZRET UMMU TMEJD

On February 11, 1915, we set out at 6.10 in a north-westerly direction toward the Ḥabb aš-Šrufi. The cold wind continued to blow from the northwest, penetrating to our very bones. After 7.00 we circled the camp of the Wejbâr, to whom belongs the Sirḥân clan, which has its encampments at the southern base of the Ḥawrân.

Nâzel informed us that he had heard from wayfarers (*trûš*), who had arrived in the evening from Eben Rašîd, that Eben Rašîd's slaves and mercenaries had no provisions

and were robbing the settlers. The inhabitants of ʿAjn eben Fhejd wished to save the gardens, to which the soldiers had penetrated, and had offered to give ten loads of provisions to Saʿūd, but he demanded ninety.

From 8.15 to 8.29 we rested and at 8.47 reached the Ḥabb aš-Šrufi. The settlement of Dide lay about four kilometers to the south of us. We met many clans migrating to the east. Along the trail leading to Lîne we startled a fox, yellowish white with a gray belly. When the animal lay close to the sand it was impossible to distinguish it. From 10.45 to 11.50 we took our meal. The herb known as *aḥḥejm* was blossoming pale blue in the *ḥabb*. From 2.13 to 2.39 we stopped, having met a rider returning from the west. He stated that Saʿūd's slaves had slaughtered the inhabitants of al-Ḥmûdijje and al-Mašḳûḳ, two small settlements near al-Ḳṣejbe on the eastern border of the plain of al-Bsejtîn. They had penetrated as far as al-Ḳwâra and exterminated its population. This small settlement lies quite isolated to the southwest of al-Ḳṣejbe between the tabular hills of al-Aḳwar, ar-Raʿan, aš-Šâra, and al-Hlub. To the west of it stretches the stony plain of aš-Šḥame, through which the valley of al-Aṭrâḳ sweeps to the northeast, terminating on the plain of aš-Šaʿrân, where the wells of al-Minḥarem are to be found. The valley of al-Aṭrâḳ issues from the plain of al-Hûte, which communicates with the lowland of al-Bzejrijje. On its right side rise the solitary hills of Jaklib, al-ʿAnz, and aš-Šdajjât.

At 4.46 we made camp in lush young *naṣi*, known to the Šammar as *šetîle*. We did not camp in the *ḥabb* but in the ʿerž (sand).

On February 12, 1915, we set out at 5.20. The northwest wind was so cold that at 6.20 we made a blaze and remained by it until 7.52. The camels grazed, and Nâzel rode to the neighboring camp for information about the clans encamped in front of us. At 8.30 we made another halt. We encountered riders returning from the north. They told us that they had dispersed a band of raiders of the ʿAmârât tribe of the ʿAneze, who in the afternoon of the preceding day had attacked a camp situated some five kilometers in front of us. As a strong clan of the Šammar was migrating in our direction, we waited for it till 9.44. Nâzel feared lest a body of the dispersed enemy might encounter and rob us. In a small nest hollowed out in the sand we discovered three

eggs of the *ḥabâra* (bustard). They were larger than a walnut, gray in color, with dark spots, and were very palatable. At 10.03 we saw the Nâzret ummu Tmejd to the southwest, behind which the settlement of al-Kṣejbe lies on the edge of the plain of al-Bsejtîn. The Šammar whom we had joined were migrating from this settlement. They told us that a band of thirteen raiders had attacked their herds on the previous day but had been repelled and had fled to the north. As we were proceeding to the northwest we might easily have encountered the marauders.

At 11.00 the northwest wind grew so violent that it was impossible to keep our cloaks around our bodies. At 11.10 we crossed the trails which led south-southeast to al-Kṣejbe. At twelve o'clock we saw to the southwest the lowland in which lies the Želib aš-Šîši, with the Želib aš-Šeri to the west of it. In this lowland terminates the valley of Turmus, which heads, under the name of al-Ṛajmâr, far to the southwest, almost due south of the settlement of Fejd, between the hills of al-Mu'aš-šam and al-Kranên on the south, al-Ḥdâr and al-Ḥebši¹⁹ on the west, and al-Hẓâb in the north.

WÂDI TURMUS AND ITS VICINITY

The watershed of Wâdi Turmus on the south is formed by the hills of as-Smâḥe, Edne, and al-Mḥarram and on the north by the hills of Ab-al-Lkâḥ, Kârt az-Zabb, al-Ġmejdât, al-Fhede, Ḥazm Ṣawwâl, and the sand hills of an-Nawâẓer. In the Turmus valley as well as in that of al-'Azejm, its tributary, and in the environs there are many wells. Near al-Ḥdâr the spring well of al-Ḥawe and near al-Kranên the rain well of aš-Šwejmân are to be found. In the river bed, almost at the very head of the valley where it is known as al-Ṛajmâr, there are wells of this name; and to the northeast of these farther up the *wâdi* are the wells of al-Keḥle, al-Makhûl, aš-Šarawa, aš-Šlubi, and ar-Ruḥejmi (or al-Ṛamr), and Tarab az-Zarrâf in a branch *še'ib*; to the south of the last are the wells of Feġr and al-Ġirtmi.²⁰

¹⁹ The hill of al-Ḥebši may have been the old Mount Ḥabaša' in the territory of the Beni Asad.

According to Jākût, *Mu'ġam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, pp. 197f., Abu 'Obejd as-Sakûni stated that Ḥabaša' was a mountain to the east of Samira within a short distance of the watering place of Hawwa, which belonged to the clan of al-Ḥaret ibn Ta'laba. Others again said that Ḥabaša' rises in the territory of the Beni Asad. Al-Aṣma'i reported that the members of various clans camped in the vicinity of Mount Ḥabaša' and watered their flocks at the wells of aš-Šabaka, al-Hawwa, ar-Ruḥej'a, ad-Danaba, and Talâtân — all of which belonged to the Beni Asad. — The well of al-Hawwa is the modern al-Ḥawe southwest of al-Ḥebši.

²⁰ Al-Bekri, *Mu'ġam* (Wüstenfeld), pp. 237f., quotes the poets Zuhejr and Murra al-Asadi; from these quotations it becomes clear that the watering place of Ġurtum belongs to the tribe of Beni Asad. The poet Murra longs for Ġurtum and al-'Enâb when, on his way to Syria, he beholds the al-Biṣr mountains.

Jākût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 48, states that the watering place of Ġurtum lies in the territory of the Beni Asad between al-Kenân and Tarmus. — In Tarmus I recognize the valley of Turmus, the watering place of Ġurtum being identical with our al-Ġirtmi.

At the beginning of the al-ʿAzejm branch of Wâdi Turmus are the rain springs of al-Ġaʿra, Ḥesw ʿAlja, and aš-Širṭe. To the east of the settlement of al-ʿAzejm are situated the wells of al-Afʿa and at-Taʿêlbi, the latter being at the foot of the hill of Rmejz al-Ġû²¹; northeast of this hill is the well of al-Bkêʿe on a plain of the same name.

The united valley known as Turmus extends across the plain of Bôlân, feeds the wells of Umm Ḥšejbe in the oasis of ač-Čhafa, and turns almost due east. To the northwest of ač-Čhafa are the settlements of ač-Čhefijje and al-Baʿûza,²² by which the valleys of Ab-al-Krûš, Sâḥ abu Šnân, and Sâḥ abu Rimṭ terminate.

Ab-al-Krûš issues from the volcanic zone bounded by the range of Salmaʿ to the north. It begins by the hill and the spring of aš-Šafra to the south of the settlement of Ṭâba. The solitary volcanic hills of Šurma,²³ Dhâm, al-Mḥarûka, and al-Leben rise to the south of aš-Šafra; to the northwest of it is al-Ḥlâde, and to the east are al-Kranên, al-Aġwal, and al-Abze.

Around aš-Šafra, al-Mḥarûka, al-Ḥlâde, and al-Abze wells are to be found. Also to the east of al-Kranên there is a spring well known as at-Taʿalabe. To the north of it rise the following volcanic hills: Neġfet umm Harûġ, al-ʿAwejjed, aš-Šaʿênin, Šaʿneba,²⁴ and al-Kfêl, beneath which the green palm groves of the settlement of Fejd may be seen to the east.

North of Fejd are the volcanoes of Ḥelijjân and al-Žedr, to the east of which the valleys Sâḥ abu Šnân and Sâḥ abu Rimṭ originate. The Sâḥ abu Šnân is separated from the valley of Ab-al-Krûš by the plain of az-Zarra and the elevation of al-Asrâk, and from the Sâḥ abu Rimṭ by the hills of at-Tehâjel. To the left of the Sâḥ abu Rimṭ are the knolls of al-Hamra, ʿal-Ḥwêt, al-Karâjen, al-Afârit, and aš-Šir.

The village of Fejd belongs to the tribe of Aslam. It comprises about thirty-five huts, mostly inhabited by the members of the Beni Tamîm tribe. Their chief is Nâšer. Fejd²⁵ experienced a considerable decline when pilgrims began to travel by way of Ḥâjel and the trading caravans adopted the route through the oasis of al-ʿEdwaʿ.

To the east, close to the lower part of Wâdi Turmus, the plain of aš-Šarân is shut off by the high dunes known as an-Nawâzer. The dunes fall off abruptly to the west, but to the east they gradually run into the sandy tongue ʿErž al-Ašʿali, which extends as far as the Ḥabb aš-Šrufi and Ḥabb al-Madbaḥ. The latter are separated by the rocky eminence of al-Malḥa.

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 844, writes that Tarmus is a locality near al-Kenân in Neġd. According to Našr, Tarmus is a watering place belonging to the Beni Asad. — Our valley winds through the ancient territory of the Beni Asad, traversing the oasis of ač-Čhafa, which is copiously supplied with water; thus we may identify it with the Tarmus of Jâkût.

²¹ Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 816, states that Rmejz al-Ġûʿ is a lofty hill near which a little water is to be found; it is situated where the plain of Rammân meets the mountains of Salma, which belong to the tribe of Tâjj.

²² Al-Bekri, *op. cit.*, p. 167, records that al-Baʿûda is a watering spot in Hemaʿ in the sacred environs of the settlement of Fejd, from which it is sixteen miles distant. He cites al-Aṣmaʿi as stating that al-Baʿûda is a sand desert within the Tâjj territory.

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 676, says that al-Baʿûda or al-Baʿûd is a watering place belonging to the Beni Asad near al-Kaʿr in Neġd.

²³ Some poet (*ibid.*, Vol. 3, pp. 281f.) refers to Šurma and Rammân. — Our Šurma lies to the east of the mountain of Rummân.

²⁴ Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 391, quotes the verses of poet al-Aʿšaʿ, who makes mention of Šaʿnaba.

²⁵ See below, Appendix IV.

NÂẒRET UMMU TMEJD TO NEAR THE HEAD
OF THE ŠE'IB OF AL-ḤWÊR

Since 12.15 we had been traversing a stony basin bounded on the east by the sandy tongue 'Erž al-Aš'ali and on the west by the Nâẓret ummu Tmejd. This basin produces plenty of annuals and perennials, but locusts were swarming everywhere. At 1.50 the well of 'Afra lay to the west-northwest of us, and al-Ḥubejra was in the foreground. From 2.05 to 2.55 we took our meal in the Ḥabb al-Ḥedâġe. The locusts invaded our food and accumulated about the water bags. After three o'clock we sighted a rider far away to the southeast. Fearing that it might be a scout from a band of the Ḥarb tribe, we watched him from our hiding place. He proceeded to the north-north-east. It was not long before three other riders appeared in the west, following the same direction. As we knew that there were no Šammar camps either west or northwest of us, we concluded that these were scouts sent out by a band of raiders in search of the Šammar. Fortunately for us, the base of the Nâẓret umm Ġer'a, along which we were passing, was overgrown with tall *rimt* and tufts of *arṭa* which screened our camels from view. We waited until all the riders had passed, and it was not until 5.20 that we made camp in a deep depression overgrown with bushes. We built no fire, as it would have attracted the attention of the enemy.

On February 13 we resumed our march at 3.35, for we wished to travel a great distance by night lest we encounter the unknown riders. At 4.00 we crossed the narrow but deep-worn channel of the *še'ib* of al-Ḥwêrân, which rises to the southwest of the 'Erž al-Ubejter and, united with the *še'ib* of al-Ḥwêr, terminates in the depression of al-Herrâniġe by the well of al-Wubâliġje.²⁶

At 6.10 the well of al-Wubâliġje lay to the southwest of us. From 6.42 to 7.04 we rested. At 7.20 the *še'ib* of al-Ḥwêrân²⁷ again came into view, now to the east.

At 8.12 we crossed the *še'ib* of al-Ḥwêrân and passed along the base of the Nâẓret umm 'Âder. The pasture grounds

²⁶ In al-Wubâliġje I recognize the ancient Ubliġj. Jākūt, *Muḥam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 1, p. 98, employs Ubliġj as a name for the well-known mountain near the two mountain ranges of the Ṭajġ tribe, i. e. Aġa' and Salma. He also mentions at Ubliġj a small brook which measures three parasangs in length and retains rain water.

²⁷ Zeġd al-Ḥejl mentions in his poem (*ibid.*, pp. 156f.) the sands of al-Aḥwarân, traversed by a road. — In my opinion we must read al-Aḥwarân, the modern al-Ḥwêrân, which is traversed by the Pilgrim Road.

of the region we were traversing are dependent on the watering place of al-Aġfar (*mafla-l-aġfar*), as the herds of camels are watered at none of the aforementioned wells but are driven as far as al-Aġfar, where there are very numerous wells seven to ten *bā'* (c. 14 to 20 m.) deep and containing brackish water that is particularly relished by camels. People drink from the wells in the vicinity, all of which contain fresh water. Furthermore, between al-Aġfar and al-Abrak there are to be found water holes (*temâjel*) in which rain water collects.

The watering place of al-Aġfar lies where the plains of aš-Šhawân, ar-Rwejje, and al-Herrâniyye meet; these, together with the flat country contiguous to them on the west, are bounded by the extensive flat-topped ridges Ḥazm Šawwâl on the south, by the Ḥazm al-Wabriyye on the west, and by the tabular hills of Rḥajjet an-Nâbje and Rḥajjet al-Lwêbde on the north. The *še'ib* of as-Sâžje rises in al-Wabriyye and terminates near al-Aġfar.²⁸

Al-Aġfar is a *ġaw* — in fact one of the most important ones in this part of Neġd. *Ġaw* is the term applied to a large basin supplied with numerous wells; many of these wells may

²⁸ At-Ṭabari, *Ta'riḥ* (De Goeje), Ser. 3, p. 2183, relates that in 898 Šaleḥ ibn Medrek and his confederates held up the pilgrims at al-Aġfor, defeated and robbed them, and took many women, both free and slave, as prisoners.

Ibn Roste, *A'lâk* (De Goeje), p. 176, states that the pilgrim station of al-Aġfor is provided with wells and rain ponds. The Arabs camped in tents. A sort of white clay used in the washing of clothes was carried from here to Bagdad.

Al-Bekri, *Muġam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 72, mentions al-Uġajfer (diminutive of al-Aġfor) as a locality within the Beni Asad territory.

According to Jākūt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 135, al-Aġfor is situated between the stations of al-Ḥuzejmijje and Fejd, within thirty-six parasangs of the latter in the direction of Mecca. Jākūt cites az-Zamaḥšari as recording that the watering place of al-Aġfor belonged to the Jarbū' tribe but was wrested from them by the Ġadime tribe. — The statement of Jākūt is incorrect. Al-Aġfor does not lie to the southwest of Fejd but almost due east, at a distance of thirty-six miles (not thirty-six parasangs). About 1184 al-Aġfor belonged to the Ġadime tribe.

Jākūt, *op. cit.*, p. 319, mentions al-Ararr, a lowland situated in the direction of al-Aġfor within three miles of al-Ḥuzejmijje on the Pilgrim Road and provided with a small stronghold, several shrines, and a large reservoir. He adds that according to Naṣr al-Ararr is a hill within the Ṭajj territory in front of which a spring wells up, irrigating a grove of date palms of the variety known as *al-muntiheb*. — The pond of al-Ararr lies to the southwest of Zerūd.

Jākūt, *op. cit.*, p. 55, refers to a place known as Ab'ār lying within five miles of al-Aġfor in the direction of Fejd.

Al-Bekri, *op. cit.*, p. 538, mentions the region between Kabr al-'Ibâdi and al-Aġfor as al-Mela'. — Kabr al-'Ibâdi is the modern al-'Aššâr lying far to the north-northeast of al-Aġfar. The district of al-Mela' never extended as far as that.

Ibn as-Sikkit (Jākūt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, pp. 627f.) had heard from a member of the Ṭajj tribe that the plain between Bak'a' (not Nak'a', as printed), a Beni Mâlek hamlet situated in the proximity of the sands, and the base of the Aġa' range was known as al-Mela' and that near al-Ḥarânek the sandy ground gradually gives way to stony ground. — From the settlement of Bak'a' the plains of al-Ġetjâte, ar-Rwejje, and aš-Šhawân extend as far as al-Aġfar, the region towards Eġa', on the other hand, being a stony tract.

Al-Aṣma'i (*ibid.*) employs the name al-Mela' to denote a region of loose white soil destitute of sand and stones, in which there grow no perennials except '*arġeġ*, *brukân*, '*alka*', *kašis*, *ketâd*, *rimt*, *sollejân*, and *naṣi*. All these, he says, grow on the plains in the vicinity of al-Aġfor. The *še'ib* of as-Saba'ân issues from al-Aġfor. This *še'ib* belonged to the Suwa' and Numejr clans of the Beni Asad tribe. — The *še'ib* of as-Seb'ân, running from southwest to northeast, gradually disappears in the plain of al-'Arajdje, which connects with that of as-Sa'îre, in which al-Aġfar is situated.

Imruḥkajs (*Diwân* [De Slane], p. 31) mentions the embayment of al-Mela' in which the clan of Nebhân was encamped.

be broad and shallow, others narrow and deep. Sometimes they are lined with masonry, sometimes sunk deep into rock, while again they may be hollowed out of clay, but they are all called *želīb* (pl., *ḵulbân*) without discrimination. Into the wider ones a man may climb down or be lowered in order to fill with water a leathern bucket secured to a rope, by which another man raises it. A place in which only one *želīb* is to be found is never called a *ġaw*. Al-Aġfar, al-Ḥazra, Lîne, Sel-mân, Šerâf, as-Siċer, aš-Šwêṭên, aš-Šubeċe, and others are each known as *ġaw*, but al-Ḥajjâniĵje, Zerûd, Wâḵṣa, etc., are not.

A *naḵr* or *moḵr* is an artificial well about two meters deep which is sunk into a ledge of rock and in which rain water collects. In being round and artificially hollowed out, it differs from a *ġebw*, or shallow natural hole in a ledge.

At nine the end of the sandy tongue 'Erż al-Ubejter lay to the northwest of us. This reaches as far as the Ġaw aš-Ša'ebe, situated on the road from al-Ḥazra to Ḥâjel. Aš-Ša'ebe is a round basin bounded by the scarps Ġâl al-Ḥenw on the north, al-Mejtân on the east, and Dwejbân on the south, and contains the following groups of wells: al-Ḳarâḥ, al-'Ûdijje, al-Bêd, al-Wusêṭ, and, to the north, al-Hašme. To the west the Ḥbejra Ṛbajje is supplied directly by the rain.

At 9.40 we were on the old Pilgrim Road from al-Kûfa to Mecca. Innumerable heaps of stones indicate the points at which the descent into the *še'ib* of al-Ḥwêr may be made without difficulty. Beyond the *še'ib* the road sweeps to the southwest by way of the Ḥabra-l-Mḵanna^c and Brejċt al-Aṛarr to the watering place of al-Aġfar.

From 9.45 to 10.52 we took our lunch in al-Ḥwêrân. Our camels discovered lush grasses and cropped them greedily, but after a while a swarm of locusts (*'amûd*) appeared over our heads, turned, and, having perceived the green beneath them, alighted right on our camping ground. In a minute the grasses were alive with the insects. After they had destroyed the grasses they attacked the shrubs, so that nothing was left for our camels. The locust is regarded by the Šammar as the incarnation of greed. If he says to someone: "Thou art like the locust (*ent zej ġerâde*)," he means that he resents seeing how the man to whom he is speaking walks from tent to tent only to be treated to one dainty after another.

Marching along the bank of the *še'ib* of al-Ḥwêr we proceeded to the northwest. This *še'ib* belongs to the 'Abde tribe,

who speak very highly of it, as there is plenty of pasture both in the valley and its environs, and, besides, water can be reached in any part of the channel at the depth of seven *bâ* (c. 14 m.). This water, however, is very bitter. The valley exceeds five hundred meters in width and is enclosed by slopes about fifteen meters high. At one o'clock the well of al-Bdejje^c lay to our right in the valley.

The camels searched for pasture, and each selected her favorite plants. Although our camels were all obtained from the Rwala, not a single one had been reared by them. They had all been captured. The black she-camel Malha on which I rode to al-^cEla^c had been brought by a son of Chief Fahad eben Tnejjân as spoil from a raid on the southern tribes. He had sold her in Brejda, where she was purchased by an ^cAkejli, who was robbed of her by the Šarârât. They sent her to an-Nûri in lieu of contributions. My second riding camel, ash colored Ša'ela, had been reared by the Šarârât, from whom Eben Rbâ'i of the Tûmân had taken her as spoil. In a time of abundance Eben Rbâ'i mounted on her back and proceeded on a raid against the Rwala, but when he had got as far as al-^cAjli, to the southwest of Lâha, he was waylaid by a troop led by Trâd, son of Saṭṭâm, and lost both the camel and his arms. Thus it happens that many a camel is known to tribes camping even as much as fifteen hundred kilometers apart.

If the settlers wish to proceed on a rather long journey, they borrow camels from the Bedouins. No Bedouin will loan his she-camel; indeed, he is reluctant to lend even a male camel. He fears that the *ḥazari* (settler) will not take care of a camel which does not belong to him. The Šammar have a saying: "A camel from the Arabs and a stick from a tree (*az-zaml min al-^carab wa-l-^caṣa' min aš-šeġara* [sic!])." The settler borrows a camel from the Arabs, cuts a stick off a tree or shrub, and beats the camel in order to arrive at his place of destination in time; he does not care about pasture or water. Then he returns the exhausted animal and flings away the stick.

The ^cErž al-Ubejter²⁹ shone red to the northeast.

At 4.40 the mountain of Rḥajjet al-Lwêbde came into view to the west-southwest, with the hills of Redâjef ar-Rḥajje in

²⁹ Al-Bekri, *Muġam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 65, refers to al-Abâtir, a locality in the Beni Asad territory, which in all probability coincides with our ^cErž al-Ubejter, as the Beni Asad used to camp in its environs.

the foreground. By the southern slope of al-Ḥêla³⁰ we looked for a spot suitable for camping and made camp at five o'clock in a deep gully overgrown with luxuriant grass. Our fire was hidden by high crags, which also screened the light required for ascertaining the latitude.

THE ŠE'ÎB OF AL-ḤWÊR TO BĦARA ŠERHÂN

At 4.35 on February 14 we resumed our journey, which still lay through the *še'îb* of al-Ḥwêr. At 5.15 we turned to the west-southwest and at six o'clock reached the head of the *še'îb* of al-Ḥwêr. All the shrubs and grasses were covered with locusts. A cold dew having fallen, the locusts did not stir. Before tasting the shrubs or grasses our camels dislodged the insects with their tongues and lips. The locusts, however, remained lying on the ground as if dead, and only after the dew had disappeared did they begin to feed again. About two hours after sunrise they gathered in sunny places — preferably on heated sand —, basked for an hour or two, and then took flight all of a sudden, withdrawing in a dense mass not unlike a cloud. A swarm of locusts in flight is called *'amûd*. A benumbed motionless locust is known to the Šammar as *žârese*. If a man is reluctant to leave his bed even after sunrise, his wife calls out to him: "Art thou a benumbed locust? (*ent jâ flân ġerâdeten žârese*)."

At 6.32 the long brownish slope of Redâjef ar-Rĥajje appeared to the south-southwest of us. From 6.38 to 7.10 our camels grazed. An extensive plain was to be seen to the south, the Ġâl al-Ḥêla appeared to the north, and the hills of 'Abd at-Taḥa were visible to the west. The dark-red summit of the Zel' al-Ġildijje surmounted the slope of ar-Rĥajje far away to the west. *Ḳaṭa'* (sand grouse) circled round us. They seemed to be of a pinkish plumage, for it was impossible to

³⁰ Al-Ḥêla recalls the Syriac Hîle.

In 835 of the Seleucid era (the fourth year of Justin I's reign [524 A.D.]) Simeon, bishop of Bejt Aršâm, wrote to Simeon, archimandrite of Gabbula, that on the twentieth day of the second month of Kânûn, 835, he had proceeded from an-No'mân's settlement of al-Hîra together with the priest Abraham, son of Euphrasius, whom Justin had despatched to al-Mundir to arrange for peace. For ten days they traversed the desert and then discovered al-Mundir within a short distance of the Hîle' (*var.*, Hala') mountains, or Ramle, as called in Arabic. The messengers of the Jewish king of Neġrân had come there to see al-Mundir, and Sergius of Bejt Resâfa was also present. (Guidi, *Letter [Atti]*, p. 502; Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* [Chabot], Vol. 4, p. 274.) — Our Ġâl al-Ḥêla is ten marches from al-Hîra. The vicinity is called ar-Ramla, a sandy waste extending east and north. During the bleak rainy season al-Mundir and his clans no doubt had their camps in the south where the climate was more genial and annuals more likely to spring up than in the environs of al-Hîra. Water was plentiful about al-Ḥêla, and pastures were available both in the Neġûd and on the stony grounds.

distinguish them when they walked about in the sand. However, when they took flight dark feathers beneath could be observed. To the north-northwest Nâzel indicated the rain pool of Ḥabra aš-Šefalleḥijje, about which, he said, the Riġete family of the Dṛêrât clan were accustomed to camp. The pool lies in an embayment formed by the Ġâl al-Ĥêla. We rode across a plain, passing numerous fragments of rocks a half meter to ten meters high, among which grew *rimt*, occasionally relieved with isolated ‘*arfeġ*’ and ‘*âder*’. After 8.40 we traversed a black, rocky plain overgrown with shrubs of *hrît*, a bush that resembles *rimt* but is somewhat lower and has the needles packed more closely. This shrub belongs also to the *hamz* group of plants, which forms the best pasture for camels. At 9.10 we reached the Ḥabra Šammar, in which rain water remains until the first half of the *keġz* season (mid-summer). In places the water was three meters deep. Our camels had no particular longing for the water, though they had not drunk since January 26. Locusts were swarming everywhere. They are said to torment the Bedouins for a period of nine years and then again the peasants in the cultivated parts for another nine years. Near the rain pond we struck the fresh tracks of a rider. He might have been an enemy spy (‘*ajn*’) examining the pasture lands and watering places, or an allied scout (‘*assâs*’ or *kallât*) doing the same, or again a sentry (*nattâš*) riding round the grazing herds of the Riġete family encamped near aš-Šefalleḥijje, in order to signal the approach of an enemy by discharging his rifle. One who rides round the camp only in order to guard it from enemy is known as *ṭallâ*.

At 10.28 we departed. At 11.04 the two solitary sharply notched peaks of al-Ġännên came into view to the left, south of al-Ġildijje. The extensive table mountain Kârt ar-Rḥa emerged to the northwest, enclosing on the west the plain of al-Ġetjâte, which on the east is bounded by the Ġâl ‘Ajjâr. The settlement of Baġ‘a’ lies in the northern part of this plain north-northwest of ar-Rḥa. On the southern edge of the oasis the dome-shaped hill of al-Merġab was to be seen. To the east of this and at the base of the Ġâl ‘Ajjâr lie the hamlets of al-Kṣejfe and al-Kṣejfân, and to the west of the last, the hamlet of Ba’îte at the mouth of the valley of Ab-al-Ḥejrân. The town of Baġ‘a’³¹ lies to the south of Ba’îte. It numbers upwards

³¹ Jâkût, *Muġam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 1, pp. 700f., states that Baġ‘a’ is some bitter water belonging to the Beni ‘Abs. A young woman of this tribe married a member of the Asad tribe and camped with him about the wells of Line, which were celebrated for their

of forty houses and is divided into two districts, the western one inhabited by Šammar from the Âl Ġaʿafar under Chief Eben ʿAli, the eastern by the Beni Tamîm and by immigrants from various Šammar tribes who paid rates to the family of ʿObejd eben Rašîd, one of whose slave was appointed governor of the place.

After 1.15 we noticed an abundance of mica (*laṣṣâb*) in stones. Riding across a flat stony plain tires one extremely (*al-kâʿ jeḡajjeḡ aš-šidr* [sic!]); the object to which one is proceeding seems just as far away all the time. The wayfarer is exposed to view even at a great distance and the camels do not find any pasture. The tongues of sand hereabouts were steep on the eastern sides; on the western, however, they were only moderately inclined. The strong northwesterly winds bring sand that is intercepted by each dune, gradually accumulating and building up the western slope, and tumbling down the eastern side. From 2.50 to 3.10 our camels grazed. The plain we were traversing, and particularly its northwestern portion, is rich in salt. At 3.50 we mounted a rocky slope to the south-east of the Kârt ar-Rḥa. To the west in the foreground rose the dome-like elevation of ʿAnejza, southeast of which the notched summit of al-Ġânnên came into view; farther southwest ten sharply pointed peaks of the Fetċ group were to be

palatable fresh water. As the husband proved impotent, his wife deserted him and went off to the well of Baḳʿaʿ, where she married another man. As cited by Jâkût, as-Sakûni reports that Baḳʿaʿ is a village belonging to the Ġadila clan of the Tajj tribe in the Aġaʿ mountain range. Naṣr writes (*ibid.*) that the settlement of Baḳʿaʿ either lies in a sandy waste and belongs to the Beni Mâlek or is a locality within the Tajj territory in Neġd. —

The wells of Lîne lie within some 185 kilometers to the northeast of Baḳʿaʿ. As-Sakûni was wrong in stating that Baḳʿaʿ lies in the Aġaʿ range. At the end of the twelfth century Baḳʿaʿ belonged, according to Naṣr, to the Beni Mâlek clan; his two records relating to a settlement of Baḳʿaʿ as being owned by the Beni Mâlek and to the settlement of the same name as belonging to the Tajj tribe both refer to our Baḳʿaʿ, since the Beni Mâlek were one of the Tajj clans.

References in Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, pp. 627, 805, to "Naḳʿaʿ" suggest Baḳʿaʿ. He records that Ibn as-Sikkîr heard from some member of the Tajj tribe that Naḳʿaʿ is a settlement of the Beni Mâlek and lies in the midst of a sand desert which extends as far as al-Ḥarânek, where it joins the rocky offshoots of the Aġaʿ mountains. The sandy environs of Baḳʿaʿ are, according to him, called al-Melaʿ. Jâkût also cites al-Aṣmaʿî as stating that al-Melaʿ is the end of the valley of as-Sabaʿân, which extends between the two mountain ranges of the Tajj tribe and near the termination of which al-Uġajfer is situated. Al-Melaʿ stretches above the valley; below it lies the watering place of al-Aġfor, belonging to the Suwaʿ and Numejr clans of the Asad tribe. The watering place of al-Aġfor first belonged to the Beni Jarbûʿ, who were expelled by the Beni Ġadîma after the introduction of Islam. —

All these topographical records offer evidence that "Naḳʿaʿ" is a misspelling for Baḳʿaʿ. The latter lies on the border of a sand desert which extends to the southwest as far as the mountains of al-Ḥarîẓ, or, according to Jâkût, as far as "al-Ḥarânek," a misspelling of "al-Ḥarâjek" (plural of "al-Ḥarîẓ"). The *šeʿb* of as-Sebʿân passes to the south of al-Ḥarîẓ and terminates in a plain west of the wells of al-Aġtar. Al-Melaʿ is not a proper name in this instance, but a noun denoting a plain covered with a thin layer of hardened alluvium. Such plains are formed in large round basins to which much water and alluvium are conveyed through long valleys after heavy winter rains.

It seems that Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 568, also meant our Baḳʿaʿ where he refers to at-Ṭîba, for he writes that the settlement of at-Ṭîba lies within a short distance of Zerûd. — The inhabitants even now frequently say Tajjibt Ism in order to avoid the unlucky association of the word Baḳʿaʿ (sterile woman). The station of Zerûd is almost one hundred kilometers east of Tajjibt Ism.

seen. For the first time we saw the Salma mountain range, looming, as it were, through thin gauze. After ten days we were again in sight of hills, real hills, and we could not take our eyes off them. At 5.10, after making camp in a deep gully where our fire could not be seen, we determined the latitude.

On February 15 we started at 4.28 and proceeded on foot to the west, traversing a level tract of stony ground here and there strewn with round pebbles the size of a pea or a hazel nut. When we or our camels stepped on such a little round stone, it shifted under foot and gave out a sound not unlike the word *rašrâš*, which, hence, is the name given by the Šammar to such pebbles. A level stony tract covered with *rašrâš* is called *rašrâšijje*. Another such *rašrâšijje* is also to be found east-northeast of the settlement of Baċ'a°. After 6.00 we crossed trails leading southwest to the watering station Ġaw aš-Šidr. These wells are to be found in a round basin bordering on the *še'ib* of al-Fwêleġ, which extends along ar-Rħa towards Baċ'a°. We stayed in this *še'ib* from 6.55 to 7.22. The *še'ib* of aš-Šidr issues from the Kârt al-Emîr and az-Zebnijje heights and winds along the eastern slope of the Kârt umm aš-Šaṭen.

The plain of al-Kâċ, which extends as far as the settlement of Baċ'a°, is almost completely bare in its northwestern part, so that nearly every *ġarbû* (jerboa) can be seen jumping about. In the plain called Sihlet aš-Ša'rân intervening between al-Ġildijje and ar-Rħa the rain wells of al-Ĥwât are to be found. We reached an embayment of this plain at 7.42. The mountains of aš-Šerb and al-Ġildijje spring up abruptly from the plain without any transition. Al-Ġildijje was flooded with a violet light vertically crossed by shining white strips. The pointed coronets of the hills of al-Ġännên were a dark blue and the Salma mountains enveloped in an opaque buff-colored veil. The level pebble-strewn plain of aš-Ša'rân is bounded by the slope of aš-Šerb and the hills of al-Elb on the west and northwest and by the mesas of al-Ĥzâb on the north. To the east of al-Ġildijje stretches the low white eminence Ĥazm al-Muṭraq, which is separated from aš-Šerb by the *še'ib* of al-Êweġ. The sandstone mountain of al-Ġildijje, which consists of sharp ridges running north and south, attains its greatest height in the middle. Southwards it sinks away more gently, forming four sharp points and terminating in two pillars called al-Ĥsejjên. To the northeast of al-Ġildijje there is the well of

al-Êweġ and the ẖaṣr al-Êweġ, from which the pass Tenijjet al-Bwejb leads to the rocks of al-Aṣṣâbe', 'Anejza, al-Hêl, and al-Hâṣra.

After 8.48 we were traversing the craggy upland of al-Muṭraḳ, which is dissected by short, steep-sided gullies. The western slope is composed of three horizontal layers of soft grayish-white sandstone; beyond it a branch of the *še'ib* of al-Êweġ begins. On the left bank of this *še'ib* is an undulating plain on which sandstone crags, the remnants of more resistant strata, are to be found, the softer strata having been carried away to the Nefûd by the winds. From 9.55 to 11.05 we rested. A very cold southeast wind had been blowing continuously since the preceding day.

All the mountains and hills in this vicinity — al-Ġildijje, 'Anejza, Umm Ṣaṭen, al-Bwejb, al-Ġännên, etc. — are remnants of the more resistant strata which formerly covered the entire region at a much higher elevation. Weathering has loosened and disintegrated the softer underlying strata, the remains of which were subsequently largely blown away into the Nefûd, except where protected by remnants of the harder upper layers that now form isolated sandstone mountains. It seems that the heat has burned these mountains dark. The sandstone, although resistant to extremes of temperature, wind, and the friction of wind-blown sand, is itself gradually disintegrating.

After twelve o'clock we perceived to the south the elevation Ḥazm az-Zebnijje, near which the *še'ib* of aṣ-Ṣidr heads. Southeast of it we saw the hills of al-Wabrije and the gray channel of the *še'ib* of as-Sâḏje. At 1.35 we stopped in the saddle that separates al-Ġildijje from al-Baṭîta. The two mountains rise sheer from the plain of Bḥara Ṣerhân. The latter is bounded on the south by the Ḥazm Farhûd, on which rises the cone of Tell al-Hnejdirri. At 2.30 we continued our journey southwestward.

At two o'clock a violent west wind began to blow. On the stony undulating plain grew: *'arfeġ*, *žetâde*, *da'lûk*, *swejs*, *iden al-ḥmâr*, *razzâle*, *ġamba*, *kaḥ'a*, *ġelûl*, and *slejže*; isolated *arṭa*, *ḥamra*, *sel'*, *'alanda*, *tmâm*, and *ġafna* also had sprung up here and there. After 3.55 our view was unobstructed, the mountain of al-Ġildijje (Fig. 7) towering behind us to the northeast and the Salma mountains rising to the south. To the east of the latter the solitary hill of Ḥamra Fejd loomed black, and beyond it the volcanic hills of al-Žedr and ad-Dâra

formed a dark mass, already beginning to recede behind the peak of al-Ḥanijje, which marks the northeastern end of the Salma range. In front of al-Ḥanijje Nâzel indicated a dark spot, the palms in the settlement of al-Edwa. The latter has some twenty-five houses and belongs to the 'Abde tribe. The lower the sun sank, the more distinctly the individual peaks were outlined. At 4.23 we stopped in order to chart the mountains and determine the latitude.

THE SALMA MOUNTAINS AND VICINITY

The mountain chain of Salma³² extends for fifty-five kilometers from southwest to northeast in a vast plain and has an average width of only seven kilometers; in consequence, the mountains, although rising only about 1100 meters above the sea, convey an impression of great height and are visible from all sides. The chain is composed of a multitude

³² The mountain range of Salma is frequently mentioned by Arabic writers.

Jākūt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 120, states that Salma is a broken mountain range belonging to the Tajj tribe and traversed by the valley of Rakk. In the sandy basin of this valley there are rock-hewn wells which contain fresh water and about which date palms thrive moderately well. Humajjān and al-Ruda', two buff-colored knolls, are situated on either side of the lower part of the valley, whereas in the upper part the rock of as-Surra rises, half submerged in sand. Jākūt cites as-Sakūni to the effect that the Salma mountains extend within about four miles north of Fejd and are the exclusive property of the Nebhān clan. Besides rain-water ponds, rain wells, and wells of spring water surrounded by date palms and two other kinds of trees, there are neither villages nor fields in these mountains. The range extends from al-Ukajlibe and al-Muntaheb as far as the sand hills of Rammān. —

Elsewhere (*ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 810) Jākūt refers to the valley of ar-Rakk as Rakak or Uruk. Uruk is said to have been a place in the Salma mountains (*ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 210). — At the present time a short valley and wells called ar-Rakk are situated on the northwestern base of the Salma mountains immediately north of the peak of al-Hmejjān. Al-Ukajlibe and al-Muntaheb of as-Sakūni must have lain at the northeastern end of the Salma range, since the plain of ar-Rammān lay at the southwestern end. Hence al-Muntaheb may have been merely another name for the oasis of al-Edwa.

Al-Mukaddasi (*Aḥsan* [De Goeje], p. 255, note i), however, states that beyond Fejd stretches the district of al-Manhab, in which there are many fields and clumps of date palms; this district is traversed by the mountains and valley belonging to the Tajj tribe, in which there are groves of date palms and wealthy settlements. Fejd, says al-Mukaddasi, lies between al-Manhab and the valley of the Tajj tribe. The two places last named are traversed by the road leading from al-Baṣra to Syria. From al-Manhab it takes five nights to the Wādi al-Kura', four nights to the oasis of Tejma, two nights to the valley of the Tajj tribe, and thence seven nights are required to Tebūk. —

The district of al-Manhab is mentioned in no other records. It seems as if al-Manhab (The Place of Stealing), or al-Muntaheb (The Robber), could not have been a proper name of some settlement but must have been a mere nickname given it by the caravan leaders. According to the Constantinople manuscript of al-Mukaddasi's *Aḥsan* we ought to locate al-Manhab and the valley of the Tajj tribe northwest or northeast of Fejd, as the road from al-Baṣra to Syria might have passed through both al-Manhab and the valley of the Tajj tribe but certainly not through Fejd itself. As the mountain ranges belonging to the Tajj tribe must have been contiguous to their valley, we must conclude that the valley coincides with the modern valley of as-Seb'ān. If this is the case al-Manhab might well have been in the environs of the settlement of al-Edwa. By the road leading from al-Baṣra through this settlement and the *ṣe'ib* of as-Seb'ān we reach the oasis of Tejma in one day less than the journey takes to the Wādi al-Kura'; but it is very improbable that only four nights would have been required from al-Manhab to Tejma if we consider that three nights are indicated as the distance between Tejma and Tebūk.

In al-Muntaheb (Jākūt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 319; Vol. 4, p. 657) was a settlement with numerous date palms supplied with water from the spring of al-Hudejlilje, which welled up near the hill of al-Aḥrarr. According to some writers the settlement of al-Muntaheb lay at the foot of the Salma mountains, but according to others it was situated in the proximity of the mountains of Aḡa' and belonged to the Beni Sinbis. It was also famous for the battle fought there between the Tajj tribe and their enemies. (The Beni Sinbis also had camps in the district of al-Ḥulād [*ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 457] along the two mountain ranges of the Tajj

of separate mountains and hills divided by deep ravines in which many spring wells are to be found.

The southwesternmost peak is known as al-Ġedīd. The ravine of aš-Šōk separates it from Mt. aš-Šera.³³ At the base of aš-Šera the wells of az-Zejme and al-Bašīr are to be found. Mt. aš-Šatnījje³⁴ with the wells of al-Kri encloses the settlement of Tāba on the west. This settlement numbers fifteen houses and belongs to the Aslam tribe. As-Slūġ and ar-Rās rise to the north of Tāba.³⁵ The various mountains to the northeast of Tāba take their names from the following wells: al-Rāda, al-Rubr, an-N'aj, al-Krēra (from which runs a small šē'ib known as at-Tarba), al-Ġibb³⁶ with al-Mērde, al-Hmejjān, ar-Rakk, and al-Ḥanijje.

At the northeastern base of the Salma chain the oasis of al-Edwa is situated in the plain Sihlet al-Arajde. The oasis is supplied with rain water from the šē'ib of al-Ešš, which is joined by the šē'ib of as-Seb'an. Al-Ešš comes from the west-southwest, heading in the hills of ad-Dēre', which extend as far as the Eġa' mountains and form the watershed of three important valleys. The šē'ib of al-Ešš runs to the east-northeast, the šē'ib of ad-Dēre' to the north-northeast, and the šē'ib of al-Mdejsis to the south-southeast. On the north the watershed of al-Ešš is marked

tribe.) In another connection Jākūt (*op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 341) writes that formerly there was only one well; later, however, palms were planted and more wells sunk, and the whole region was called al-Ukajlibe. This al-Ukajlibe, he says, lies along the border of the Salma range within about two miles of the two mountain ranges of Ġa'a' and Salma and belongs to the Beni Sinbis. According to other authorities, however, Jākūt says, we must assign al-Ukajlibe to the wells in the Ġa'a' mountains. Jākūt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 63, asserts that Surra is a hill half submerged in sand, situated near the šē'ib of Uruk. The same name is given to a town in the Salma mountains and to a well in the valley of Salma, the upper part of which is called Du al-E'sās, the lower portion being known as al-Ḥafā'ir. — Surra probably coincides with the modern šē'ib of aš-Šera, in which the settlement of Seb'an is situated. The upper part of the valley of Salma called al-E'sās by Jākūt recalls the šē'ib of al-Ešš, or the upper part of the šē'ib of as-Seb'an which winds along the northern border of the Salma mountains.

Al-Bekri, *Mu'ġam* (Wüstenfeld), pp. 697, 776, states that al-Abd is a black hill between two dome-like elevations of moderate height that are called at-Tadejān and rise in the proximity of the Salma mountains and the valley of al-Rimār. A man migrated from the Salma mountains to another district. Seeing the ridge of the Salma mountains for too long a time lining the horizon and the adjacent al-Mala', al-Abd, and the valley of al-Rimār also lingering too long in his view, he was much astonished. —

To all appearance this man was traveling from the northeastern extremity of the Salma range northward or northeastward through the level plain of al-Mela', which is enclosed by the Salma range on the southwest. As seen from here the hill of al-Abd would rise from a plain in the foreground. Al-Rimār denotes the lower part of the valley of as-Seb'an, in the channel of which the run-off lingers long under the alluvium.

³³ Naṣr states that aš-Šera is a mountain in the chain that belongs to the Tajj tribe (Jākūt, *Mu'ġam* [Wüstenfeld], Vol. 3, p. 268).

³⁴ Jākūt, *op. cit.*, p. 291, states that about the valley of Šatnān in Neġd clans of the Tajj tribe have their camps. — The valley of Šatnān may be a gully near Mt. aš-Šatnījje.

³⁵ Al-Bekri, *Mu'ġam* (Wüstenfeld), pp. 750 f., and Jākūt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 486 f., knew of a place called Tāba within the Tajj territory, and quote the poet Zejd al-Hejl, who mentions the following places: al-Kufejl, Tāba, Ruḥbet Irmām, and Muṣīd or Muṣīd. — Obviously Zejd al-Hejl means our Tāba. Al-Kufejl coincides with Mt. al-Kfēl to the west of Fejd and northeast of Tāba. Muṣīd, or, according to the spelling of al-Bekri, Muṣīd, is unknown to me. Ruḥbet Ermām is an undulating plain on the Pilgrim Road south of Tāba.

Al-Bekri, *op. cit.*, p. 87, states that Irmām is a place within or near the Tajj territory, because Zejd al-Hejl, Mohammed's contemporary who embraced Islam when dying at the well of Farde belonging to the clan of Ġarm, longed for the camping grounds of his Tajj tribe in al-Kufejl, Tāba, Irmām, and Muṣīd (Abu-l-Faraġ, *Aḡāni* [Būlāq, 1285 A.H.], Vol. 16, p. 49).

Jākūt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 211; Vol. 3, p. 536, spells this name Armām and states that it is a valley either within the Beni Asad territory or between al-Hāġer and the oasis of Fejd. The Beni Ġadīma of the Beni Asad held the wells of Turejfa in the lower part of this valley. — The šē'ib of at-Tūzi heads at wells of that name in the Ruḥbet Ermām.

³⁶ Al-Ġibb suggests al-Ġubb which Jākūt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 17, describes as a region in the mountains inhabited by the Tajj tribe, abounding in water and date palms.

by isolated hills, the remnants of eroded mountains, the names of which are: an-Nsêr,³⁷ al-Mišt, al-Hdejbân, as-Swêdân, al-Meleḥijje, Arkân, Šaṭîb, ad-Dejm, Ašfar, Miêḥa, Fetč, Ġisân, al-ʿAbd, and Kârt as-Sabḥa. On the south the watershed is formed by the hills of ad-Dâra, al-Hwejdî, al-Ġafr, aš-Šbejče, al-Ḥwêtre, Drejʿât, al-Ḥâmrije, and al-Medarre.³⁸ Still farther

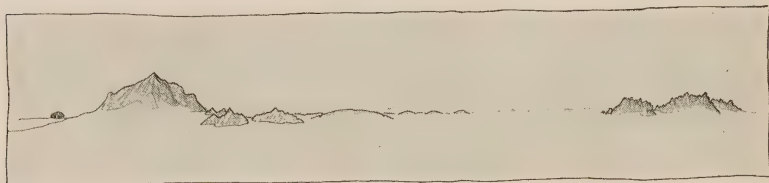


FIG. 7—Al-Ġildijje and al-Ġännên from the west.

east rise the hills of aš-Šaʿîra and ad-Debâbe. The *šeʿib* of al-ʿEšš is separated on the north by the hills of as-Sarraʿ and al-Ġnadâl and by the plateau of an-Nefîši from the *šeʿib* of az-Zwâle, which communicates with it at the eastern end of an-Nefîši. Besides a well of the same name, near az-Zwâle there are the wells of al-Hdejbân, as-Swêdân, and as-Šabṣab; near the head of al-ʿEšš are the wells of aš-Šbejče and the Klejeb Diġâb, with, somewhat farther south, those of al-Ġafr and al-Ḥâmrije. Near the hills of ad-Debâbe al-ʿEšš enters the *šeʿib* of al-Ḥâr, which is usually called as-Sebʿân³⁹ after the settlement irrigated by it. This settlement comprises twenty-five houses inhabited by members of the Beni Tamîm tribe. The name of their chief is Ḥajrallâh at-Tamîmi.

The *šeʿib* of al-Ḥâr comes from the southwestern extremity of the Salma mountains and extends almost due northeast. Besides being joined by al-ʿEšš, it also is entered in the plain Sihlet al-Manâḥ by a shorter *šeʿib* called Ḥâfez, and, near the settlement of al-ʿEdwa, by the *šeʿib* of al-Mḥejmer. On the right the *šeʿib* of aš-Šeraʿ reaches it near the settlement of Sebʿân, and the *šeʿib* of al-Ḳaw north of Mt. al-Ġibb.

Just before eight o'clock an extraordinarily violent sand storm came up from the north-northwest. It subsided again about 10.00, but the cold northwest wind did not abate.

³⁷ An-Nsêr may be the ancient al-Ansur. Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 380, states that al-Ansur is a well of the Tajj tribe near their two mountain chains to the south of the sand desert. — In the vicinity of an-Nsêr there is a fairly large number of wells.

³⁸ According to Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 470, al-Muḍarra is a mountain in the Aġaʿ chain.

³⁹ Nasr states (*ibid.*, Vol. 3, pp. 33, 603) that as-Sabuʿân is either a mountain in front of Falġ or a valley winding to the north of the Salma mountains along a black hill called al-ʿAbd. According to al-Asmaʿî al-ʿAbd is a place near as-Sabuʿân within the Tajj territory. Nasr calls the hill of al-ʿAbd properly ʿAbd Salma, because it rises to the north of the Salma mountains. The watering place of Mulejḥa lies to the west of the hill. — Northern Arabia abounds in black cones that are generally called ʿabd. ʿAbd Salma may be identical with the rock of al-ʿAbd northeast of Sebʿân, past which, moreover, a valley winds its way; thus the Sabuʿân of Nasr might well have denoted either a hill or a valley. The well of Miḥa lies to the west of Sebʿân.

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 640, states that Mulejḥa, a mountain to the west of the Salma chain, includes many wells and abounds in salt. — Mt. Miêḥa rises northwest of the Salma mountains, and in its vicinity many shallow wells are to be found.

On February 16 we struck out on foot at 3.55 to the west-southwest. The thermometer registered only 7° C. From 6.21 to 6.55 we breakfasted. In the tract of Umm al-Ḥmejrijje, through which we were passing, there had been no adequate rain for four years. *Tmâm*, *harm*, and *hamra* grew only in the deepest ravines. At 7.30 the serrated hills of Fetč⁴⁰ came into view south of us.

A depression, through which runs the *še'ib* of as-Seb'ân and above which rise the isolated hills of al-'Abd and the Kârt as-Sabḥa, stretches to the southeast of Fetč. Beyond this lowland the level of the Sihlet al-'Arajde shone white. North of the serrated hills of Fetč there rises gradually an impressive plateau on which the four hills of the Nûf group are situated. In front of the Nûf hills we saw al-Ḥafâzjje, the sharp black points of the Zel' Miḥa, az-Ẓab', al-Bdene, and the somewhat lower hills of Jâṭob and 'Arejġa, between which wells of the same name are situated. The *še'ib* of Jâṭob⁴¹ extends to the south-southeast and terminates at the hills of Ġisân.

Our entire attention was directed to the west, where the imposing Eġa' mountains had come into view. They were emerging from the vapors of the morning, and the beams of the rising sun lingered on the various peaks, tinging them with a violet luster.

NEAR ĠAW 'AREJĠA TO VICINITY OF ḤÂJEL

As we viewed the various peaks we could distinctly make out their configuration and that of the deep ravines dividing them from one another and flooded with dark blue haze. Numerous *ġadde* (trails) led across our route to the wells Ġaw Jâṭob and 'Arejġa. On all sides remains of worn sandstone rocks were to be seen. At nine o'clock the cone of al-Žâ'ed came into view, shining far to the northwest, with the tabular hills of al-Ġilf to the northeast of it and, nearer, al-Ḥomejme. At 9.07 the Ġaw 'Arejġa lay to the southwest of us. From 9.28 to 11.12 we rested in the 'Akkâš hills. One of our camels cast a young one (*tiled*), which was removed

⁴⁰ Jâkût, *Mu'ġam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 3, p. 851, refers to a well of Fatk in the Aġa' mountains belonging to the Tajj tribe. — Our Fetč is not situated in the Eġa' mountains but east of them; as, however, Jâkût is never accurate in his statements, we need not doubt that our Fetč coincides with his Fatk.

⁴¹ Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, pp. 1002 f., employs Jâṭeb as a name for a well in the Aġa' mountains mentioned, together with the watering station of al-Ġurâwi, by a certain poet. As-Sakûni (*ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 255) knew of a watering station called aš-Šabaka or Šabaket Jâṭeb in the Aġa' mountains, about which palms and *talḥ* trees grew. — The poet refers to the watering places of al-Ġurâwi and Jâṭeb, one lying south and one north of the Nefûd desert on the road from Neġd to Syria. Al-Ġerâwi is a well and a half-ruined farm in the oasis of al-Gowf south of the settlement of Dûmat al-Gandal, and Jâṭeb coincides with our Jâṭob, although it does not lie in the Eġa' mountains themselves but near them.

before its mother had time to sniff at it. At 11.54 we saw the watering place Ġaw Jâtob about eight hundred meters to the south in a basin beneath a dark rock. At some distance beyond the wells there are two jagged hills in which gypsum



FIG. 8—Environs of Jâtob.

is dug. The hills in the environs of Jâtob (Fig. 8) recall the topography of Ĥesma.⁴² They do not exceed twenty meters in height and are isolated, their sides being worn smooth, here vertical, there overhanging. Leaving the sandstone areas, we were now entering a region of granite which extends as far west as Abraġ aš-Šijûĥ between the Eġa' and al-Misma ranges.

The Salma mountains were in sight, apparently far beneath us. At 12.20 the Ġaw 'Akkâš lay to the northwest of us at the foot of a dark-brown cone. The view of the numerous hills and knolls to the south was most beautiful. Some of these are hardly as much as twenty meters high, isolated, and composed of as many as twelve horizontal layers of square blocks separated from one another by gaps caused by the erosion of the soft sandstone. At 12.30 the dark ravine of al-'Okde came into view to the west, and in the foreground on our right the hill of Samra Ĥâjel. Between the ravine and the hill lay the town of Ĥâjel encompassed by high brownish-yellow walls, above

⁴² See the author's *The Northern Heġâz*, New York, 1926, pp. 48—50.

which numerous towers and dark palm tops were to be seen. North of the Ġaw 'Akkâš the pink-stained tabular hills of aš-Šandûk appeared, al-Mu'allak and al-Bdene being visible to the south. From the last the gully Tel' az-Zôba runs north-west. We were traversing the watershed of the še'ibân of Jâtoḇ and al-Brejṭ; the latter communicates with the valley of Hâjel. Prominent in the southwest were the hills: Mlêḥa, Šatîb, Arkân, and al-Meleḥijje; south of these two horns of al-Hâmrijje with the truncated al-Medarre could be seen near the še'ib of al-'Ešš and far to the south the reddish walls and leveled tops of the Rummân mountains.

Mt. al-Ġedîd, which terminates the ridge of Salma on the southwest, has three prominent horns visible from a great distance. The še'ib of al-Helle, in which lie the settlement of al-Kšêr and the wells of al-Bellâ-zijje, extends south from this mountain. Between al-Kšêr and al-Ġedîd the še'ib of al-Helle pierces the hills of al-Wtêdât, south of which the isolated hills of Orejnbe, al-Ṛasil, al-Ka'sa, al-Wârdât, and an-Nwêta rise to the east, and al-Ẓidr, aš-Šmâḥe, aš-Šlejbi, al-Rarejbên, and as-Slejmi to the west, of the še'ib. Between Orejnbe and the head of Wâdi Turmus the plain of Ruḥbet Ermân, on which lie the ruins and wells of at-Tûzi,⁴³ stretches along the Pilgrim Road leading to Mecca.

Southwest of the ridge of Salma there is a group of table mountains called Rummân,⁴⁴ each of the various peaks of which has its own particular name.

The še'ib of al-Lakm winds along the eastern side of Rummân, issuing from the hills of Sâbel and running south. The settlement of ar-Rawza, which belongs to the 'Abde tribe and of which Eben Ġabr is chief, has fifteen houses and lies in the upper portion of the še'ib of al-Lakm between Mts. al-'Aḳâb and Daraf. Farther down this še'ib, between the hills of Umm Saḥem and Sburiijje, there is the pool and garden of al-Eḥfen and, under the hills of al-Ṛurûr and al-Hâmer, the wells and garden of al-Hfêne. West of al-Eḥfen lies the defile of Bakr, near the southern end of which is the settlement of Mustaḡidda. The northern part of this defile is called al-Bwejb. The hamlets of Kšejr at-Turki and al-Ṛazâle,

⁴³ Jâkût, *Mu'ğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 1, p. 893, states that Tûz is a station on the Pilgrim Road between Fejd and Sumejra' near a hill of the same name in the territory of the Asad tribe.

⁴⁴ Al-Bekri, *Mu'ğam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 412, states that Rammân is a mountainous country in the midst of the sand desert of the Ṭajj tribe. The poet Ibn Muḳbel speaks of various isolated crags and low tabular hills in it.

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 815, writes that Mt. Rammân lies within the Ṭajj territory west of the Salma range in a sand desert where there are many lions. Hâled there overtook the renegades who were in flight after the defeat at Buzâḥa and compelled them to re-embrace Islam. — Hâled ibn al-Walîd operated in these regions in 633 A.D. before going to Irak. The wells of al-Bzâḥa lie within fifty kilometers to the north of our Rummân. There are numerous springs in the vicinity. In many places the ground water is so near the surface that it forms swamps overgrown with sedge, the haunts of various wild animals. Lions also may have had their habitation there before they were exterminated by powder and shot.

In another place (*ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 805; Vol. 1, p. 705) Jâkût states that Rammân is a mountain rising at the foot of the Salma range within the Ṭajj territory and that the well of Raḍwar and the valley of Bakr are to the left of it. — Bakr is a rîf (defile) traversed by a road which runs through the ridge of Rummân from south to north. Our Rummân mountains communicate with the western offshoots of the Salma range on the east, and there is no doubt that they coincide with the Rammân of Jâkût.

the latter with twenty-five houses, lie at the western base of Rummân. North of these and of the hills of al-Ma'a' and al-Mḥâš the wells of al-Ḥneke, Nabtal, and al-Ramr⁴⁵ are to be found.

The wells of al-Ramr are fed by the brook of al-Mdejsis, which issues from the hills of ad-Dêre' and traverses the plain of al-Mančab in a southerly direction, winding among the hills of al-ʿAşejfirât. Between al-Ramr and Rummân lies the plain Kâ' al-Ḥard, in the midst of which tower the hills of ʿAbse and al-Ḳedûm; the hill of al-ʿAṭwa' rises on the northern edge of this plain. West of al-Mdejsis the *še'ib* of Ġwej Rašid runs south-southeast from the southern extremity of the Eġa range. Its head lies between the eastern slope of the elevation of al-Ḥazn and the hills of al-Ḥfâzijje; on the left it is joined by the *še'ib* of al-Ḥwejjân, which is separated from it by the hill of al-Hra' and in the valley of which lies the oasis of Saḳf. At the very source of the Ġwej Rašid is the well of Dulkmân and, farther down, the oases of aš-Šaḳrâwi, aš-Šawe, al-Ḳaṣṣe,⁴⁶ al-Benâne,⁴⁷ and the Tarab az-Zersi.

The *še'ib* of aš-Ša'be⁴⁸ rises in the hill of an-Nuẓmân, runs east-southeast, and terminates at the Tarab az-Zersi.

Between aš-Ša'be and the Ġwej Rašid are the hills of Umm Laḥam, al-Bwejb, Šhale, Ša'nab (with the well of az-Zbâne), Derâf (with the well of al-Aṭram), Fârât, al-Ḳranên (with the well of al-Bwâ'a), Šobḳân, al-Ġruma, Šbaḥe (with a well of that name), al-Fâre'i (with a well of that name), as-Sfa', Sbârte, al-Wa're, al-Baram, ar-Rwejje, and, to the south of aš-Ša'be, the well and hill of al-Ôl,⁴⁹ and the mesas of aš-Šḳajme, aš-Šwêher, and ad-Daḥḥân.

After one o'clock white patches of quartzite and reddish dikes of granite began to show in the sandstone. From 2.13

⁴⁵ Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 813f., mentions Ramr of the Ṭajj tribe. He cites as-Sakûni as stating that it lies opposite the station of Tûz, west of a hill of that name. Tûz is a station on the Pilgrim Road from al-Kûfa to Mecca and is included within the administrative district of al-Jemâma. Ḥâled ibn al-Walid arrived from Aḳnâf Salma at the watering place of al-Ramr of the Beni Asad tribe. — Our Ramr lies to the west of at-Tûzi (the ancient Tûz) on the way from the southwestern offshoots of the range of Salma to al-Bzâḥa.

⁴⁶ The oases of al-Ḳaṣṣe and of Saḳf are known to the Arabic authors.

As-Sakûni mentions (*ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 125) that the rain wells of Du al-Ḳaṣṣa lie within two miles of the station of aš-Suḳûk in the direction of Zubâla. Abu ʿObejda is said to have made a raid on them by order of the Prophet. Du al-Ḳaṣṣa, however, is also the name of the wells of the Beni Turejġ clan in the Aġa' mountains; according to others Du al-Ḳaṣṣa is a well lying between Suḳf and Raḳdwar and in the Salma mountains belonging to the Ṭajj tribe. —

No doubt Abu ʿObejda did not proceed as far as the well of Du al-Ḳaṣṣa on the Pilgrim Road near the station of aš-Suḳûk. The Du al-Ḳaṣṣa in the Eġa' mountains, however, coincides with our al-Ḳaṣṣe, for Saḳf is an oasis in the valley of al-Ḥwejjân, and Raḳdwar, referred to by "the others," must be located in the hills of Rummân.

Al-Bekri, *op. cit.*, p. 789, states that the place named Suḳf lies within the territory of the ʿAbs and Beni ʿAmer clans who wage war with one another. He cites the poet Ḥâtem as mentioning Suḳf together with the valleys of ʿAmûdân, al-Ramr, aš-Se'b, and Mašâr. — I identify ʿAmûdân with the ʿAḳlat al-ʿAmûd at the head of the valley of al-Mdejsis. Al-Ramr is a watering place within ten kilometers to the southeast of Saḳf. Aš-Se'b may coincide with aš-Ša'be southwest of Saḳf. Mašâr is a mountain in the northeastern part of the Eġa' range.

⁴⁷ Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 740, speaks of Banân as a place within the territory of the Beni Asad in Neġd. It belongs to the Beni Ġadîma. So much is recorded by Naṣr. According to others al-Banâne is a watering place of the Beni Ġadîma at the base of the Banân.

⁴⁸ Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 293, knew of a place, Ša'ba' by name, in the two mountain ranges and a place called Su'ba' within the territory of the Beni Fezâra. — Ša'ba' is no doubt identical with our Ša'be.

⁴⁹ Jâḳût, *Mu'ġam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 1, p. 407, mentions Awl, a locality in the territory of the Raṭafân tribe between the oasis of Ḥajbar and the two ridges of the Ṭajj tribe within two days of Daṛraḳ. — Daṛraḳ or Zarrad lies southwest of our al-Ôl.

to 2.43 we rested. At 3.08 Ḥâjel lay within about ten kilometers to the west-northwest, below us between the Samra and Eġa'. At 3.10 we crossed the road which leads from Ḥâjel through al-Edwa to al-Ḳašîm. To the Šammar Ḥâjel is known as al-Bilâd and the other settlements as al-Bild. The southern suburb is called Zebâra. We could overlook the whole town. The gardens of al-Wuṣṣêta appeared as a black spot to the west, near the entrance to the ravine of al-Okde. At 3.48 we crossed the road that leads from Ḥâjel to Fejd and traverses the Salma range in the pass of an-N'aj. At 4.09 we crossed the road from Ḥâjel to the settlement of Seb'ân, and at 4.25 we made camp in a broad depression. From an eminence near by we could view Ḥâjel⁵⁰ and hear the calls summoning the people to prayer.

We determined the latitude.

SOUTH OF ḤÂJEL TO DEFILE OF 'AKANKALA

On February 17 we started at 5.30, proceeding to the southwest. Our kerchiefs, cloaks, and blankets, and the manes of the camels were all covered with heavy dew, called *kaḥse* or *tall* by the Šammar.

⁵⁰ Ḥâjel originally was the name of the valley, the settlement being called al-Ḳurejje. To distinguish it from others it probably came to be called the Ḳurejjet Ḥâjel; finally the first name was dropped.

Imruḳajs, *Diwân* (De Slane), p. 32, makes mention of the mountains of Tanûfa' and al-Ḳawâ'il, situated within the territory of the Ṭajj tribe. He extols his abode in the Aġa' mountains, the safe encampment of his camels at al-Ḳurejje, and the pasture lands of the Tu'l clan in the environs of Ḥâjel.

He mentions a deserted camping ground near al-Ḥâjel and 'Âkel (*ibid.*, p. 37).

Ḥâtem aṭ-Ṭâ'i was interred where he had lived, at Tabâ'a or Tunra in the valley of Ḥâjel.

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 790, states that Ḥâtem was born at the settlement of Bajust in the district of Barka. — This is the well-known Barka in north Africa and it is absurd that a member of the Ṭajj tribe who camped in central Arabia (where the settlement of Bajust is unknown) should have been born there at the end of the sixth century. According to Jâkût, *op. cit.*, p. 880, Ḥâtem lived and was buried by the wells of Tunra. He cites Naṣr al-Iskandari as recording that Tunra was a station in the valley of Ḥâjel and that it belonged to the Beni 'Adi ibn Aḥzam. Naṣr (*ibid.*, p. 312) states that the solitary hill of Uzâjef or Uṭâjef rises to the west of Tunra.

Abu-l-Faraġ, *Arâni* (Bulâk, 1285 A. H.), Vol. 7, p. 114, knew the desert of Ḥâjel, near which lay Kifâr al-Meleh. — The latter must be identical with the oasis of al-Kifâr, lying within twelve kilometers of Ḥâjel.

The poet Ṭarafa ibn al-'Abd al-Bekri (*Diwân* [Seligsohn], p. 151) made a halt in the Rowdet Du'mi in the district of Ḥâjel.

When a member of the Ṭajj tribe learned that Ḥusejn, son of 'Ali, had been abandoned by his followers in al-Kûfa, he invited him to seek refuge in the Aġa' mountains, where the Ṭajj tribe was accustomed to defend itself against both the Ghassanian and Himyarite kings and the kings of al-Ḥîra: an-No'mân ibn al-Mundir, al-Aswad, and al-Aḥmar. He promised to take Ḥusejn to al-Ḳurejje and assured him that all the inhabitants of the Aġa' and Salma mountains, whether on horse or on foot, would join him within ten days (aṭ-Ṭabari, *Ta'riḥ* [De Goeje], Ser. 2, p. 304). —

It is an interesting fact that the Ghassanian kings should have raided the Ṭajj territory, exactly as the great chiefs of the modern Rwala, whose camps occupy the sites formerly occupied by those of the Ghassanians, now seek to pillage these parts. The kings of al-Ḥîra tried to obtain control of the transport road which leads from their town southward to central Arabia, and, in consequence, they had to make raids on the refractory clans of the Ṭajj tribe. Neither the Ghassanians nor the kings of al-Ḥîra could beleague the

At 6.22 we traversed the wide but shallow channel of ad-Dêre^c.

This valley issues from the hills of the same name at the south-eastern extremity of the Eġa' mountains, runs almost parallel with these mountains to the north-northeast, turns to the northeast beyond Hâjel, and terminates at the base of the scarp Ġâl 'Ajjâr in the marshes near the settlement of Bak'a'. East of it and south of Hâjel are the isolated hills of 'Ajjâr, al-Masli, 'Es'âse, al-Bzâha, al-Orejnbē, al-Mšêt, al-Makẓam, al-Rurâba, Umm Ruḳuba, and Marôra.⁵¹

North of Marôra rise the hills of al-Adraġ, al-Aḥejmer, az-Zab^c, al-Mu'allak, al-Bdene, and Ċedîs. Al-Mbârakât, al-Ḳrajjinên, and al-Rrejben appeared to the west of the še'ib of ad-Dêre^c.

Before us opened the entrance to the pass of as-Self, defended on the south and north respectively by the saddle-shaped mountains of al-Bâr and al-Mârdijje, which are not unlike fortified towers. On one side of al-Kešrijje the eastern offshoot of the black giant of ar-Ra'êla came into view, the blue pillars of al-Menîf and al-Mešâr appearing in front of it. The imposing peaks of al-Far^c, all encompassed with a golden radiance, gradually disappeared between al-Mârdijje and al-Kešrijje, high beyond the gardens of al-Ḳfâr. These gardens

settlement of al-Ḳurejje, which was, as we may assume, surrounded by walls. Not only would it have been impossible for them to supply themselves with an adequate amount of provisions and water, but it would have been difficult to convey the necessary siege appliances to a country so remote from their homes.

Al-Bekri, *Muġam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 261, states that Hâjel is a valley in the proximity of the Aġa' mountains, mentioned by the poet Imruḷkajs. The latter appealed to the Beni Ġadila of the Ṭajj tribe for protection from the king of al-Hîra and stayed at al-Ḳurejje near the valley of Hâjel. Later on he betook himself to the Beni Fezâra (Imruḷkajs, *Diwân* [De Slane], pp. 13-15; Abu-l-Faraġ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 8, pp. 71f.).

The poet Ġâber ibn Hurejš (al-Bekri, *op. cit.*, p. 109; Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 230) mentions Hâjel together with al-Ḳarijj, Kâmes, al-Ašfar, al-Gaz', Dubâ'a, Ruḏâfa, and 'Uwâred, all of which lie within the Ṭajj territory. — Al-Ḳarijj most probably coincides with al-Ḳurejje and the city of Hâjel of today, Dubâ'a being identical with modern Zbâ'a, 'Uwâred with al-Erzijje, and al-Ašfar with the mountain of as-Soḡr (al-Bekri, *loc. cit.*), all of these places being situated in or near the northern part of the Eġa' mountains.

Ibn al-Kalbi (Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 191) states that Hâjel is a valley between the two ranges of the Ṭajj tribe, in which lies al-Ḳurejje, a well-known settlement. The well of Tunra lay by the side of the valley of Hâjel (*ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 880; Abu-l-Faraġ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 16, pp. 96 ff.).

Haġġi Halfa, *Ġihân numa'* (Constantinople, 1145 A. H.), p. 531, knew of the springs of Seġ and Harîk, containing bitter water and within one-march of Hâjel. In the valley of Kena', one march from Mawfaḳ in the Šammar territory, crops were irrigated by means of special hoists. Hâjel lay to the north of Mawfaḳ on the Pilgrim Road to Bagdad and was five marches distant from al-'Ela'. —

In my opinion Seġ is a misspelling of Šeẓiẓ, just as Samar has been improperly written for the correct Šammar. The watering place of as-Šeẓiẓ now, as formerly, is popular, as the shortest road from Hâjel to Syria passes by it. Harîk may be identified with al-Hariẓ, to the southeast of Hâjel. Kena' is the modern Kna' on the road to Syria. Instead of Mawfaḳ we should read Mawkaḳ or Mowkaḳ, the name of a settlement southwest of Hâjel. In the middle of the seventeenth century the Pilgrim Road from Bagdad ran through Hâjel and not through Fejd, as it had before that time. The ancient name of the Ṭajj tribe has fallen into disuse, since a family of the clan of Šammar of the Ṭajj tribe has come into power. The Šammar territory extended to the northwest of al-Jemâma and comprised various towns and hamlets such as Fejd and Hâjel. The famous mountain ranges of Aġa', Salma, and 'Awġân are situated within this territory (*ibid.*, p. 530).

⁵¹ Jâḳût *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, pp. 505 f., states that in al-Marôra the Dubjân tribe defeated the Beni 'Amer. — Our Marôra lies about midway between the territories of these two tribes. It is possible that their raiding bands met here.

cover an extensive area, but they convey a melancholy impression, casting their shade on the desolate ruins of deserted houses.

At one time the settlement of al-Ḳfâr was larger than Ḥâjel. Only twenty years ago the dates of al-Ḳfâr were famed among the Šammar, their taste being superior to that of the dates of "aš-Šetâta" (as pronounced by Nâzel). In late years, however, the settlement has been visited by fever (*ḥumma*) which has carried away the women and children, the men having perished in the wars. Its houses forsaken and its palms felled, al-Ḳfâr grew desolate. Only forty half-ruined houses are standing and these are inhabited by slaves and aged harlots. Harlots are said to be very numerous in Ḥâjel. If such a woman gives birth to a boy, she exposes him by night in the mosque, and he is afterwards brought up at the expense of the prince and becomes a slave.

The valley of ad-Dêre, which we were traversing, was full of women and children collecting locusts. The inhabitants of the various settlements store locusts in quantities large enough to last the whole year. They are either roasted on iron pans or boiled in salt water and then dried in the sun. When roasted or dried they are stored away in order either to be ground down into flour, of which bread is made, or mixed with dates, or taken without any other ingredient. They are consumed particularly on journeys. In the valley we saw many men going to mow grass. They are called *ḡarrâš* (pl., *ḡarrârîš*) or *fellâj* (pl., *felâlî*). At 8.06 the country to the south and east presented a fine view, including the heights of Nûf, Fetċ, Marôra, Šatîb, Arkân, and al-Meleḥijje. At 8.20 we crossed the Pilgrim Road running from Ḥâjel to Mustağidda and thence to Mecca. On the northwest Ḥâjel is surrounded by dark, low hills, one of which, al-Âref, is fortified and provided with towers.

From 10.40 to 11.23 we took our lunch. The lowlands to the south and east of Ḥâjel are characterized by the *ṭalh* tree and *ʿabejtrân*, a wormwood which forms tall bushes and fills the air with its fragrance.

The view over the Eḡa' mountains is enchanting. Granite rocks not unlike walls rise from the plain. Large and small clumps of palms show black among bare rocks. Such small oases are plentiful in the Eḡa' range; extending from north to south we could see those of al-Ḥamje, ad-Debâbi, al-Asre,

ar-Rî^c, as-Sfêra, and as-Serr.⁵² Every oasis is the property of some family.

Isolated crags and knolls can be seen rising ten to fifteen meters above the surface of the plain. These are the remnants of the overlying strata removed by erosion.

From 2.05 to 2.56 our camels grazed on *šnân*, *razzâle*, *naʿaz*, *niḵd*, *saʿêd*, *ğamd*, *ʿanam*, *raḥâb*, *ruḵejže*, *kaḥʿa*, *ğamba*, and on *ʿağram*, which resembles *rîmt*. At 4.10 we made camp by the gardens of the settlement of al-Ḳaṣr (Figs. 9, 10, 11). Over this settlement, which comprises thirty houses, Ḥasan al-Muṣejjeḥ is the chief. Traces of recent fighting could be seen all around, houses pulled down, garden walls dug through, palms felled, and wells choked with débris. The depth of the wells of al-Ḳaṣr averages nine *bâʿ* (c. 18 m.). We ascertained the latitude.

On February 18 we got very little sleep after midnight. Two slaves of the minister Saʿûd's brother arrived from Ḥâjel. They invited me to visit him, but I declined. I had no business there and I did not wish to expose myself to unnecessary danger. Saʿûd's brother and his slaves were in charge of the citizens of Ḥâjel. He might stir up some petty riot in which an unknown bullet would despatch me, or he might administer poison which would remove me from this world. Nâzel agreed with me and we refused the invitation with thanks. After the slaves had retired, Nâzel informed me that Saʿûd had again urged him to desert me on the border of the Šammar territory. That this was really the case I ascertained from the question put to me by one of the slaves:

"Who will accompany thee, O chief Mûsa, beyond the Šammar territory?"

"Nâzel eben Tnejjân."

"Why, he cannot pass through the territory of the Weld Slejmân and Weld ʿAli."

"The Weld Slejmân and also the Weld ʿAli obey Eben Rašîd and Nâzel is conducting me from the camp of Eben Rašîd."

"O chief Mûsa, beware of the Weld Slejmân! They are traitors and recreants."

"The arm of Eben Rašîd is long and will reach every traitor!"

⁵² In this small oasis I recognize as-Sirr of the Arabic authorities.

According to Jākût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 76, as-Sirr lies in Neġd within the territory of the Beni Asad, for an Asadi has been heard to say that as-Sirr and as-Sarra' are districts belonging to the Beni Asad. — As-Sarra' are perhaps the hills of as-Sarra in the upper portion of the *še'ib* of al-ʿEšš to the south of as-Serr.



FIG. 9



FIG. 10



FIG. 11

FIG. 9—Eḡa' from al-Ḳaṣr.
FIG. 10—Al-Ḳaṣr from the north.
FIG. 11—Al-Ḳaṣr, our camp.

Nâzel, however, assured me of his loyalty.

Before five o'clock in the morning some women and girls came to our camp, each carrying a vessel. As soon as we had untied the left forelegs of our camels and they had risen, the women rushed to them and caught their urine in the vessels, shoving and calling each other bad names; all this merely to secure the rare liquid. With the warm urine they hastened home. Some of the smallest girls, who had got to the camels last, loosened their hair in haste and, having filled their vessels, lowered their heads under the tails of the camels and let the intermittently flowing urine fall all over their heads, faces, necks, and breasts. Every piece of camel dung was collected by the women and carried away.

Departing from the settlement at 5.44 we went southwest and saw the isolated hills to the east and southeast emerging from the vapors of the morning. To the east, beyond the settlement of al-Ḳaṣr, rose al-Ṛurâba with al-Maḳẓam southeast of it, and south of the last the long ridge of al-Meleḥijje with its spring wells. For a long time I watched the group of al-Bzâḥa⁵³ coming into view to the southeast. On the west this group is bounded by the *še'ib* of al-Ḳurde, on the north by the valley of ad-Dêre', and on the east by the ridge of al-Meleḥijje. The northern part of it is known as al-Mšêt, the southern as 'Es'âse. The reddish hills of al-Bzâḥa are extensive but low. They are divided from one another by broad gaps, in which there are a few spring wells, with the rain pool (*hefna*) of az-Zwâle in the channel of ad-Dêre'. Nomads are fond of pitching their camps by these wells, as their flocks can graze on the plains to the east as well as in the ravines of the Eġa' mountains.

THROUGH DEFILE OF 'AḲANḲALA TO MOWḲAḲ; THE EĠA' RANGE

At 6.42 we rounded Ṭrejf az-Zabl, turning into the defile of 'Aḳanḳala. In front of al-Bzâḥa there are two solitary, much weathered rocks known as al-Ḳrajjinên, north of which rise the two black rocks of al-Ṛrejben. From 7.15 to 7.45 we took our breakfast in the defile of 'Aḳanḳala (Fig. 12).

The Eġa' mountains, through which this defile penetrates, extend for sixty-five kilometers from southwest to northeast, their southern

⁵³ See below, Appendix V.

part averaging ten kilometers in width and 1400 meters in height above the sea and their northern averaging twice this width and 1700 meters in height. These mountains do not constitute a single, unbroken ridge, but consist of countless imposing mountain masses and peaks separated from one another by deep ravines. In places three distinct parallel chains



FIG. 12—The defile of 'Aḳaṅkala.

may be plainly distinguished, each divided by transverse valleys and gaps into separate mountain masses. The highest and least disconnected of these chains is the middle one. While the ravines of the two lateral chains cut down almost to the level of the adjacent plain, making the passage easy, the bottoms of the ravines in the middle chain are as much as three hundred meters above the plain, and their steep approaches render ascent and descent most difficult.

On the south Eḡa' is divided by the pass of al-Marma from the massive eminence of al-Ḥazn. North of al-Marma are the two peaks of Abu Ruḡuma and Ḥawšân, beyond which the road from east to west runs through the pass of al-Muḥtelef. East of the entrance to this pass rises the peak of ad-Drejġe, between which and Mt. al-Mrêṭbe the wells of al-Ḥfejra and al-Ġdejġe are to be found. Beyond these comes Mt. ar-Rajde, beneath which is the spring of al-'Ammâši. Northeast loom the peaks of al-Azjaḳ, and as-Sabbâḥ, and the extensive Mts. al-Ġâz', al-Ḳarfa, and as-Sirwâl (on which are the wells of Razfên). Farther north the pass of al-Bêz is defined by Mts. al-Ġlejmiḍ, al-Mṛassa, as-Snejjem, al-Meġneb, Ġidrân, al-Mkejser, and al-'Elem. The double-peaked Mt. Ġebâr looks down from the south on the pass of 'Aḳaṅkala, to the north of which rise the peak Ṭrejġ az-Zabl (beneath which are the springs of an-Neġâde, as-

Serr, and al-ʿWēne) and the lofty cones of al-Maʿrâz, Zluzal, al-Ġešwe, and al-Krejšme. Farther north the pillar of Ġarar and the pyramids of al-Bâr, ad-Dihên, and an-Nâdra define the pass of as-Self on the south. Between the latter and the pass of ʿAkanġala the springs of al-Madsefe, al-Kamrân, ar-Rîʿ, ʿAnejž, Sfêž, aš-Šakra, aš-Šwêʿer, az-Zerrâi, al-ʿAsre, ad-Debâbi, ʿAlejjân, al-Zišš, al-Ĥamje, and Šêkân irrigate small gardens. North of the pass of as-Self the range widens and runs in a slightly more northerly direction, with the peak of al-Farʿ in the center. South of this mountain and above the pass of as-Self the more important groups are: Zalma, Belta, aš-Šhâbân, Štâr, Krûs, al-Mežne, Nâmer, al-Mestah, al-Mârdijje, Šuť, al-ʿAlât, ar-Rsofa, aš-Šofr, and al-Kešrijje. In these groups the springs of al-Hšejn, an-Naʿêlât, al-Klejebên, al-ʿAtej, Lâme, az-Zerʿân, and al-Kerden are to be found. To the east of al-Farʿ opens the ravine of al-ʿAwêmer, which is shut off on the south by Mts. al-Ġâzje, al-Maskara, an-Nġid, and al-Ĥmûs; the mountains closing this ravine on the north are az-Zhêhik, Šerâb, al-ʿAhên, al-Manzar, and al-Muamraġa. Near by and to the north of al-Farʿ lies the basin al-Ġaw, from which the ravine of Šhabarân runs northwards. To the east of this ravine there rise Mts. Rejbân, ar-Rmêz, al-Menif, as-Sabâba, al-Mešâr, al-Kurejje, and ar-Raʿêla, the last terminating the entire chain.⁶⁴ Among the last-named mountains the springs of al-Ġebaʿ, al-Žased, al-Wrîd, and ar-Rfâi are to be found. To the west of the Šhabarân ravine are grouped

⁶⁴ Al-Masʿûdi, *Tamhîh* (De Goeje), p. 252, records that in 627—628 A.D. Abu ʿObejda proceeded from al-Medîna on a raid into the Aġaʿ and Salmaʿ mountains of the Tajj tribe. In the same year ʿOkkâšaʿ Ibn Miġšen of the Asad tribe marched against his fellow tribesmen encamped at Ramr Marzûġ, within two nights of Fejd on the road to al-Kûfa.

Al-Wâġedi, *Marâzi* (Wellhausen), p. 233, states that Abu ʿObejda started on his expedition after sunset and fell upon the enemy at Du al-Ĥašša early in the morning of the following day.—

As Abu ʿObejda could not possibly in a single night have reached the Eġaʿ and Salmaʿ mountains, which are almost three hundred kilometers from al-Medîna, the watering station of Du al-Ĥašša situated less than twenty-four miles to the east of al-Medîna must have been confused with a watering place of the same name lying at the southeastern base of Eġaʿ. A watering place of al-Ramr lies within a single march southeast of Fejd and is remote from the Pilgrim Road to al-Kûfa, on which not a single other Arabic author locates it. It may be, however, that ʿOkkâšaʿ made a raid on another watering station also called al-Ramr lying within two marches southwest of Fejd. It is also not impossible that the Beni Asad used to camp there.

Al-Bekri, *Muġam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 280, writes that the Aġaʿ mountains, which are noted for their healthful climate, used to be a refuge of the Tajj tribe, where they sought protection from the attacks of the kings of al-Ĥira and the Persians. — The Šammar seek shelter from the attacks of more powerful enemies in the gorges of the Eġaʿ even at the present day. In this respect the gorge of al-ʿOkde is noted; it lies west of Ĥâjel and its entrance is artificially fortified in such a way that a few men can check hundreds of a pursuing enemy.

As the Tajj tribe used to seek protection from the kings of the Arabs and Persians in the Eġaʿ range, it was also called Manâʿ (Protector) (*ibid.*, p. 546; ať-Ĥabari, *Taʿrîġ* [De Goeje], Ser. 2, p. 304).

Abu ʿObejd as-Sakûni records that the Aġaʿ mountains, the property of the Tajj tribe, extend within about two nights to the west of the oasis of Fejd (Jâġût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 122 f.). Many small hamlets are stated to have existed there. He adds that the Tajj territory stretched to within ten nights southwest of the two mountain ranges and extended as far as the farthest extremity of the Aġaʿ and the settlements of al-Kurejjât on the confines of Syria. In a straight line al-Medîna is three marches from the two mountain ranges. Between these ranges and the oasis of Tejma the mountains of Dabr, Ĥarijjân, and Rašal are situated, one march apart. Fadak is only one march from the two mountain ranges. —

As-Sakûni uses the name al-Kurejjât to denote the oasis of Dumat al-Gandal as well as other settlements to the east of it. Hence, the whole western portion of the Neġd must have belonged to the Tajj tribe. The figures for the distances are too small, because, in order to reach al-Medîna in three marches from the Eġaʿ mountains, upwards of one hundred kilometers per day would have to be covered.

Jâġût, *op. cit.*, p. 210, states that Arkân, a watering place in the Aġaʿ mountains, belongs to the Beni Sinbis. — Arkân is a hill east of the Eġaʿ and al-Bzâġa.

Jâġût refers to Buġtur as a valley in the middle of the Aġaʿ (*ibid.*, p. 498).

Mts. al-Hwêz and al-ʿErzîjje, with the springs of al-Hâjeţ, az-Zkale, al-Kbâl, and ad-Drejfi, and Twâren.

In ascending the ʿAḳankala defile we had to guide our camels and constantly urge them up hill (Fig. 13). At 8.20 we saw the palms of Zluzal on our right. These mark the boundary between the property of the Aslam tribe, to which the palm groves to the south belong, and of the Rîte or Rijete of the ʿAbde tribe, who are in possession of the oases to the north. At nine o'clock we had gained the highest point of the pass. A fine view was unfolded behind us as far as the ridge of Rummân. This mountain is a solid mass, but to the north of it rise innumerable hills, hillocks, and knolls, of which the most conspicuous are al-Hwêtre and ad-Dêre. To the east could be seen all the various groups of hills as far as Fetč. To the southeast the Salma mountains formed a dark wall. Ahead of us to the northwest we were greeted by a buff-colored sandy waste strewn with violet and black hillocks and knolls. Nearest the Eġa' range are the groups of Hêčbâr and Ummu-r-Rḳuba

He says that Bulta is a well-known place in the two mountain ranges of the Tajj tribe, which Imrulkajs chose for his abode (*ibid.*, pp. 721 f.). According to as-Sakûni (*loc. cit.*) Bulta denotes a spring and grove of date palms in a valley overgrown with *talh* trees, which belong to the Beni Darma' in the Aġa'. — Belta is now the name of a mountain and some palm trees on the northern side of the pass of as-Self.

Jâkût states that Tarmad is a valley or watering place in the Aġa' and belongs to the Beni Ta'laba of the Beni Salâmân of the Tajj (*ibid.*, p. 922).

He mentions the valley of Gubejb in the Aġa' (*ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 32).

He records that Gaww is a settlement of the Beni Ta'laba ibn Darma' and Beni Zuhejr in the Aġa', and also a territory of the Beni Tu'al in the Aġa' and Salma' mountains (*ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 161).

Imrulkajs (Ahlwardt, *Divans* [1870], p. 142) mentions Ġaww along with al-Mistah. — Al-Ġaw is a basin with a grove of palms at the northern base of Mt. al-Far'. Al-Mestah is a mountain southwest of al-Ġaw.

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, p. 270, refers to Hesna, a bold bluff in the Aġa' mountains.

He speaks of al-Hufejr, a well in the Aġa' mountains; according to others al-Hufejr is described as belonging to the Beni Farir of the Tajj tribe (*ibid.*, p. 297). The wells of al-Hufejr, an-Nuġejla, and al-Ma'anijje are said to lie three miles apart. — The well of al-Hfejra lies on the northern side of the pass of al-Muštelef.

Jâkût knew of Haḳl, a settlement of the Beni Darma' of the Tajj tribe in the Aġa' mountains (*ibid.*, pp. 300).

According to Nasr (*ibid.*, p. 382) Hajja is a hill of the Tajj tribe. — This hill rises at the northwestern extremity of the pass of as-Self.

Nasr (*ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 247) knew of the valley of Šebâh in the Aġa' mountains.

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, p. 278, states that Šarḳ is a place in the mountains of the Tajj tribe.

He employs Šût as the name of a peak in the Aġa' mountains (*ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 336). — This peak rises west of al-Mestah.

He uses as-Šir to denote a well in the Aġa' mountains. There are said to be grottoes not unlike tents there. (*ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 441.)

He names the hill of ad-Dab' in connection with the Aġa' mountains (*ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 463).

There is said to be a well there equaled by no other throughout the Tajj territory. — This may be the modern Ummu Zbâ' on the western edge of the Eġa' mountains southeast of Mowḳak.

According to Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 816, Rumejr as-Sal'a' is a well in the Aġa' mountains not far from al-Rurejj. — Al-Rurejj may coincide with the Mt. al-Rurejje.

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, p. 878, states that the Aġa' mountains attain their greatest height in the middle with the peak of Du-l-Far'. — Mt. al-Far' rises not from the center of the Aġa' mountains but in their northern section; it is the highest peak in whole range.

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 559, locates the place of al-Madall in al-Kâ', the principal settlement in the Aġa' mountains. Du'ma is a well in the Aġa', in the mountains of the Tajj tribe, between Mulejha and al-'Abd (*ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 577).

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 905, locates the hill of al-Waġr between the Aġa' and the Salma' ranges.

and, beyond these, al-Ġedid.⁵⁵ In the ravines grew *semmâ* or *samma*, *bizz al-ʿanz*, *kurm*, *mrâr*, *swajža*, *mwâṣal*, *jasîḥ*, *wardet al-eḥwa*, *swejs*, *zerî*, *rorejla*, *tuṛâm* or *qazûḥ*, and *niḳd*.

At 9.25 the settlement of Mowḳaḳ came into view; north and northwest of it appeared the hills of al-ʿAbd, an-Nṣâb,



FIG. 13—In the defile of ʿAḳaḳāla.

al-Aḳraʿ, Sâḳ, aš-Šorfe, and al-ʿAjmde. The difficulty of the descent exceeded that of the ascent. The path is very narrow, obstructed with dislodged rocks, and so steep in some places that we had to pull our camels back lest they tumble down. At 9.55 we reached the base and proceeded through the wide ravine between Mts. Ġebâr and Brâzeḥ of the western chain. At 10.15 the mouth of the pass of as-Self lay to the northeast of us. This pass, as well as that of al-Bêḏ to the south, is much easier than ʿAḳaḳāla, which we were crossing. At 11.05 we overlooked the whole oasis of Mowḳaḳ, reaching southeastward in an extensive plain into which the sands of the Neḥūd are making their way from the northwest. The black hill of al-ʿAbd is a salient feature of the environs of

⁵⁵ Jākût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 42, states that Ġadid is a mountain close to the Aġaʿ range. — Our Ġedid rises at the western base of this range and to all appearance corresponds with the Ġadid of Jākût.

MowkaḲ. To the west rise the hills of al-ʿAjmdē, Ġarkûk, as-Smênât, and al-Wutide, beyond which the horizon is closed by the elongated group of Mtâleʿ, the remnant of a mountain range running almost parallel with the Eġaʿ mountains. Mtâleʿ at one time extended unbroken northward into the Nefûd, but now there remain to the north of Mtâleʿ proper only the hillocks of al-Ġerrâḥ, al-Aḥejzrât, Umm ʿEdlên, ar-Rḥâm, and al-Ḥirġ, the last being almost completely buried under the sands of the Nefûd of al-Mḥaffar. Southeast of MowkaḲ the Eġaʿ range is approached by the hills of al-ʿElem, al-Wabara, and aš-Šezfân.

We now traversed a plain covered with sand almost fifty centimeters deep. In places *rimt* and *ʿāgram* bushes formed small groves. On elevated spots clumps of *ʿawseġ* were to be seen. From 12.10 to 2.25 our camels were allowed to graze, for we knew that the environs of MowkaḲ would provide no pasture for them. They pastured on *soboṭ*, *ẓamrân*, *ʿalkaʿ*, *ʿaneba*, and *ṛaraz*. At four o'clock we arrived in MowkaḲ and camped by the western garden wall near a small barley field, which had to be irrigated daily lest the barley dry up in the sand.

MowkaḲ⁵⁶ lies in the short valley of al-Bîz. Most of it is in ruins (Figs. 14, 15), although in the northern part some thirty houses have been preserved, together with flourishing palms. In the southern part ruins and clumps of *etel* trees are all that is to be seen. The wells in the northern half are from six to ten *bâʿ* (c. 12—20 m.) deep, whereas those in the southern portion of the settlement attain a depth of twenty-five *bâʿ* (c. 50 m.). The water of the northern wells is brackish, that of the southern, fresh. The inhabitants belong partly to the Ḥfejle clan of the Singâra tribe and partly to the Beni Tamîm. Their chief is Râleb eben Mšejjer. South of the settlement rises a dark hill called ar-Rwejje.

We inquired as to the location of the nearest camp of the Weld Slejmân, from among whom we wished to select a guide, and learned that they were camping somewhere beyond al-ʿAjmdē; no one, however, was willing to conduct us there. We then determined the latitude.

⁵⁶ As-Sakûni knew of a village called MawkaḲ, which, together with palms and fields in the Eġaʿ mountains, belonged to the Ġarm clan. According to others the wells of MawkaḲ belonged to the Beni ʿAmr ibn Rowt and later to the Beni Šamaġa. Close by rises the hillock of Ṭuḥâm. (Jākût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 688; Vol. 3, p. 518; al-Bekri, *op. cit.*, p. 468.)

At the end of April, 1821, the Egyptian army commanded by Ḥsên bek Abu Zâher besieged the settlement of MawkaḲ and, having seized it, slaughtered all the men (Ibn Bišr, *Unwân* [Bagdad, 1328 A. H.], Vol. 1, p. 139).

CHAPTER IV

MOWKAḲ TO AL-‘ELA’

MOWKAḲ TO ABRAḲ AŠ-ŠIJŪḤ

On February 19 we quitted MowkaḲ at 4.30 without any guide and proceeded to the northwest. At 5.30 the first hill of the al-‘Ajmdē group rose on our right. We were looking for the encampments of the ‘Aneze, or ‘Anūz, as Nâzel called them. ‘Anūz means a small group consisting of a few tents belonging to one of the ‘Aneze tribes. After seven o’clock we sighted tents on the sandy upland of Ğarkûk and proceeded towards them. The approach was not at all easy, several gorges half filled with sand separating them from us. At 8.06 we arrived at the camp, unloaded our camels, and put up a tent. Then Nâzel went to a tent close by for information as to the number of ‘Aneze present in the encampment. It was not long, however, before he returned with the unwelcome news that the ‘Anūz had withdrawn on the previous day to somewhere about the ridge of Mtâle’. We immediately struck our tent, loaded our packs, and at nine o’clock set off toward the northern extremity of that ridge.

The camp where we had stayed for a while belonged to the ‘Amûd clan, at one time subject to the reigning family of Âl Ğarba, who have emigrated to Mesopotamia together with their clans. The ‘Amûd have remained in their original homeland and joined the Singâra. They number about five hundred tents and usually camp on the southwestern border of the Eġa’ mountains. Their head chief is Eben Fnejdel.

From 9.45 to 10.20 our camels grazed near the hills of al-Aḥejzrât and al-Ğerrâḥ. A violent sand storm rose from the west. At 11.12 we met two riders on camels (*maṭṭâjên*), who told us that the ‘Anūz were camping on the southeastern edge of Mtâle’. We forthwith turned to the southwest.

We skirted the eastern side of the ridge of Mtâle’;⁵⁷ passing ruined huts and many *eṭel* trees, which formed a line of clumps

⁵⁷ The poet Kutejjer (Jâkût, *Mu’ğam* [Wüstenfeld], Vol. 1, p. 523) mentions the plain of al-Bedâje’ in connection with the sand desert of ‘Aleġ and the solitary rock of Mutâle’. — Raml ‘Aleġ was the ancient name of the modern Nefûd desert, the *haḍb* of Mutâle’ being our elongated hill of Mtâle’.

at least eight kilometers long. A settlement of the Swejd clan had formerly stood there and had rapidly increased in size, for it had plenty of water and was protected from the north-west winds. Feuds, however, arose among the population, civil strife broke out, the huts were pulled down and the palms felled out of vengeance, and the settlement fell to ruin (Fig. 16). At 12.48 we saw Mrêr, which forms the largest clump of *etel* trees under the peak of as-Sda’.

The ridge of Mtâle° protected us from a ‘aġġâġ, or sand storm; after one o’clock, however, it started to rain, very little at first, but soon so heavily that we were all but drenched when at three o’clock we arrived in the camp of the ‘Anûz. A man about forty years old ran to meet us, seized the rein of my camel, urging and imploring us to be his guests. An old man came running from a neighboring tent, gripped my right leg, and also besought me to enter his tent. I decided to be the guest of both, but declared that we should put up our tent between theirs and live by ourselves. As we wished to dry our wet clothes and blankets, find a reliable guide, and gather some information about the southern and southwestern environs of the Eġa° mountains, we made up our minds to spend one day at least with the ‘Anûz. Our old host fetched us some sour milk, the younger one brought some fuel, and we purchased a ten-months-old buck and prepared our supper. We learned that our younger host used to conduct the messengers of Eben Rašîd to al-Ĥeġr and al-Mu‘azzam and that he was an honest man. I liked him for his terse and clear way of answering and hired him as guide to al-‘Ela’ and back. His name was ‘Ali eben Mrejhem; he had sprung from the Âl ‘Awâġi family of the Weld Slejmân and was camping with the ‘Amûd as neighbor (*kaṣîr*).

The Weld Slejmân belong to the ‘Aneze, the division of them camping between Tejma, Ĥajbar, and Bêza Neġîl being subject to Meš‘ân walad ‘Askar âl ‘Awâġi.

This division of the Weld Slejmân is composed of:

al-Ġa‘âfra

Slîmânijje.

The clans of the Ġa‘âfra:

Âl Fzejî; families: Âl ‘Awâġi

as-Shûl (chief: Eben Ṣan‘a)

Âl Ĥamrûn („ Frejĥ eben Ĥamrûn)

aṣ-Zwâwje („ Ġarallâh eben Sanâbel)

Âl Mrejhem („ Ĥġâb eben Mrejhem)

al-Karâwa‘a („ Barâz âl Ġerwân)

The clans of the Ġa'âfra (*continued*):

Âl Tammâm	(head chief: Mebğeh eben Tammâm)
Âl Mbârek	(" " Şejmân âl Mbârek)
Âl Nimrân	(" " Rwejsân eben Nimrân).

The clans of the Slîmâniyye:

as-Slîmât	(" " Eben Štêwi)
al-Razawre	(" " Eben Šwêhed)
al-Ĥmeše	(" " Eben Mzahlaḡ).

On February 20 we spent the whole day in cartographic work. Standing on a neighboring eminence we drew a map of the southern part of the Eġa' range and its surroundings far to the west and southwest.

On the south the Eġa' range terminates at the pass of al-Marma. From there southwards stretches the extensive upland of al-Ḥaẓn, above the general level of which rise the mesas of Dulkmân, al-ʿAšâm, aš-Šakrâwi, and al-Ġrûma. On the northwest al-Ḥaẓn is separated by the Tenijjet al-Ḥafira from the hill ranges of az-Zel'a, ar-Ra'ûd, and aš-Şahw,⁵⁸ between which run the *ḥbûb* of Safwân and al-Mranni.

The settlement of al-Ġfejfe (Fig. 17), comprising ten huts and subject to Chief Eben ʿEtmân, is near aš-Şahw.

The *še'ib* of al-Mserže, in which lie the wells of al-Blâlîyye, stretches along the northern base of aš-Şahw. The run-off is drained to the north-west and irrigates the gardens of the settlement of al-Ġfejfe, lying half-hidden among the hills of an-Nsûr, al-Ġhejra, ʿErne, aš-Škêž, Ġefente, and az-Zel'. To the northwest of these hills are the hillocks of an-Nefs, Ab-az-Zard, al-Wutide, al-ʿAnab, and az-Zmejḥât. Between the last mentioned and Rorejrit are the wells of al-Aškar and west of Rorejrit the well of an-Nwejta. South of Rorejrit rise six pyramids of the Derâf group, which, together with Mt. Sâḡ to the west, command the whole surrounding country. Between the Derâf and al-Ḥaẓn appear the hillocks of Şbâhe, Šobkân, Şa'nab, and Fârât. East of the last are the knolls of al-Kranên, with the well of al-Bwâ'a.⁵⁹

At the base of Şa'nab is the well of az-Zbâne, the well of al-Aṭram lying at the base of Derâf. Mt. Sâḡ, which directs the way to the famous watering station of Bêza Neṭîl,⁶⁰ is the best landmark between the Eġa' and al-Misma mountains, as it is exposed to view from every quarter.

⁵⁸ Hâtem at-Ta'i, *Diwân* (Schulthess), p. 20, states that the Aġa' mountains can be seen beyond aš-Šakîḡ and aš-Şahw. — This aš-Šakîḡ is probably identical with aš-Škêž, which rises north of aš-Şahw.

The same poet (*ibid.*, p. 43) enumerates the camps in Ḥawrân, Abâ'ir, aš-Şahw, Nabtâl, Gudijjât, Mašâher, Buwâ'a, and ar-Reda'. — Ḥawrân is the well-known mountain mass in Syria. Abâ'ir is the modern Bâjer on the road from the oasis of Tejma to the Ḥawrân. Aš-Şahw is our Şahw. Nabtâl, if it is not a wrong transcription of Neṭîl, lies near al-Ramr to the southeast of aš-Şahw. Al-Bwâ'a is a watering place south of aš-Şahw.

According to Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 437, aš-Şahw consists of gorges which are full of date palms; they lie along the western part of the Aġa' mountains and belong to the Ġadîma family of the Ġarm clan of the Ṭajjî tribe. — The settlement of Mowḡaḡ also belonged to the Ġarm clan.

⁵⁹ Hâtem at-Ta'i, *loc. cit.*, makes mention of a camp in Buwâ'a.

According to Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 750, Buwâ'a is a desolate plain near the Radhet al-Kurejnejn, belonging to the Beni Ġarm of the Ṭajjî tribe.

⁶⁰ Al-Hâzemi (*ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 738) knew of the mountain of Nabtâl within the Ṭajjî territory near the Aġa' mountains, and also a place of that name was known to him in

By drawing in the sand inside the tent an old man of the ‘Amûd clan outlined for me the features of the country lying between Mustagidda, the valley of ar-Rma’, and the Eġa’ mountains. Our guide ‘Ali gave me information about the

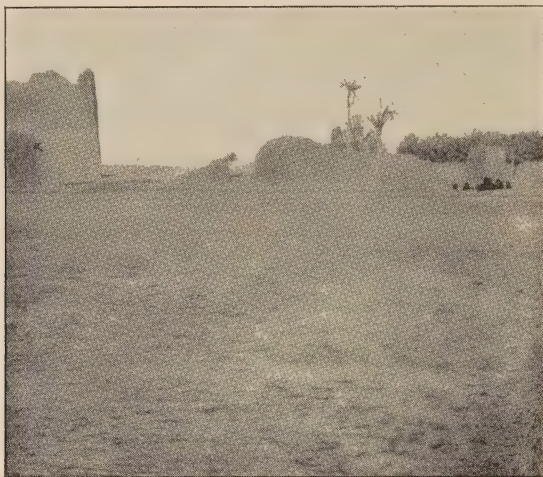


FIG. 14—MowkaḲ from the northwest.

country extending as far north as Tejma from the volcanic zone of Tenân to the south. It was very tedious work but very profitable; moreover, ‘Ali thus got an idea of what I expected him to tell me on our way. I was fully satisfied with him, for he knew the names and relative positions of the various places, and he never contradicted himself. In the evening we determined the latitude.

On February 21 we left the camp of the ‘Anûz at 5.50 and proceeded west. It was 6.20 before ‘Ali caught up with us, for he had risen very late and could not easily part from his wife and children. There was no wind stirring. We circled the southern extremity of Mtâle’. ‘Ali indicated where the springs of Mrêr and al-Kḥejl flowed forth among these hills. At 7.05 the rock of Abraḳ al-‘Obejse, half submerged in sand,

Syria. — The name “Nabtal” is no doubt due to a wrong transcription of “Netîl.” The latter, a lofty cone, and the watering place Bêza Netîl lie to the west of the Eġa’ mountains and, during the life of al-Hâzemi (he died in 1188) belonged to the Ṭajj tribe. The Nabtal which al-Hâzemi places in Syria probably derives this name from a mistaken rendering of Nejtêl, which I recognize as the watering station of Ab-an-Nêtel at the northern base of the Palmyrene mountains.

and its watering place, the Ġaw al-'Obejse,⁶¹ lay to the north-west of us.

North of al-'Obejse five hillocks known as as-Sajjerîn form a line; west of these rise the pillar-shaped Sabla hills. Between Sabla and as-Sajjerîn there are the wells of az-Zbeĵ'a and ar-Rummâde, with the well



FIG. 15—Mowĵak, our camp.

of al-Ĥĵĵle to the west of them. The impressive group of the Hebrân hills came into view to the northwest. West of us lay the hillocks of al-Aĥejzrât and south of these the hill of Ekĥ'es. South of Mtâle' the truncated hill of al-Ġetûm could be seen, with, to the east, the extensive

⁶¹ The Ġaw al-'Obejse I suppose to be Jâkût's wells of al-'Absijje (*ibid.*, Vol. 3, pp. 606, 662 f.). Jâkût, however, employs the name al-'Absijje in connection with that of al-'Oraĵme, between the two mountain ranges of the tribe of ʿAĵĵ. He cites as-Sakûni as stating that the sand desert of al-'Orejme with the wells of al-'Absijje stretches between the Aĵa' and the Salma' mountains. Abu-l-Ĥasan al-'Omrâni assigns al-'Absijje to the Beni Sa'd, others assign it to the tribe of Fezâra. — The desert of al-'Orejme is a tract of country which actually lies west of the Eĵa' mountains on the road to Tejma. The Fezâra used to camp on the territory of the modern Weld Slejmân, i.e. as far east as Bĵza Neĵil and al-'Obejse.

al-‘Anab hill, southwest of which spreads the lowland of al-Rajme, in which are the wells of al-Aškar and an-Nwejta. Far away southward emerged the pointed summits of Derâf, with the hills of as-Sâna, Umm ‘Edle, and Rořejrit in front of them. The pillar-shaped hill of Sâk and watering place of Bêza Neṭil are on the plain of al-Meğmar,⁶² which is



FIG. 16—Mtâle' from the southeast.

bounded on the west by the hillocks of aš-Šhaba and on the southeast by those of Umm Laḥām and al-Bwejb.

At 7.33 we passed the encampment of a family of the Harb tribe. The camp was elliptical, the tents being ranged close to one another so that the ropes of one reached beyond those of another and prevented the camels from straggling. Only at the two narrow ends a space was left to provide room for entering (*tenijje*). Camels, sheep, and goats lie down in the space left free between the tents, and the two entrances are guarded by watchmen.

At 7.38 the ridge of al-Misma, looming on the horizon like a long, lofty wall, emerged to the west. From 7.40 to 8.15 our camels grazed. From 10.55 to 12.28 we took our lunch. To the southwest our eyes were attracted by the pillar-like Sâk and south of this by the cone of an-Nuẓmân.

North of Mt. Sâk the hillocks of Te'er are of some importance, al-Hadiže and the oblong al-‘Amâjer being conspicuous and to the west of these the groups of aš-Šrejfe, and aš-Šrejf. Al-‘Amâjer extends southward as far as the *še'ib* of al-Abejter, which rises in the al-Misma mountains and terminates in the basin of Rôzat at-Tenha. The last named on the north, east, and southeast is enclosed by the hills of aš-Šhaba and ad-Dâra, and on the southwest by the eminence of Sarmada. Between Sarmada and ad-Dâra the *še'ib* of Sboṭor also finds its way into at-Tenha, coming from the table mountains of al-Lbejdi, al-Bešra, and az-Zawra to the south on the confines of a volcanic desert. Sboṭor has

⁶² Al-Meğmar is mentioned by Arabic authors.

The poet Imru'kaqs (Johnson, *Seven Poems* [1894], pp. 27-29) looked forward to rainfall between Dârig, al-‘Odejb, Katan, as-Satâr, and Jadbul. Rain fell at Kutejfa, al-Kanahbul, al-Kanân, Tejma, Tabir, al-Muğajmer, al-Rabiṭ, and al-Giwa'.

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 422, knew the country of al-Muğajmer of the Beni Fezâra. He refers to some poet who mentions the camps of al-Gafr and al-Muğajmer. — The country of al-Muğajmer may be identified with the plain of al-Meğmar, especially when we consider that the watering place of al-Gafr (Wākṣa of today) lies to the west of al-Meğmar.

two branches, which unite at the Ḥabra ʿEdma in the depression of ar-Rôz: al-Bredân, in which there is a *radîr* of the same name, and al-ʿAjli. To the west of the Ḥabra ʿEdma rises Mt. al-Brejţ and to the northwest Mt. al-Muʿazzara, north of which are the wells of aş-Šamli and al-Ḥafîra in the channel of Sboţor. This channel winds between the

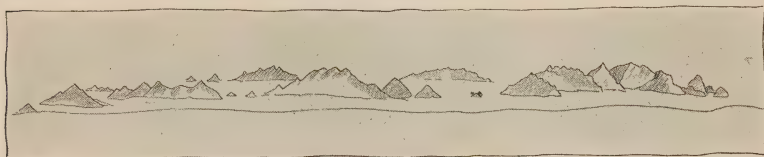


FIG. 17—Al-Ġfejfe from Mtâleʿ.

hills of al-Frûzijje on the right and as-Shâba on the left. Between as-Shâba and Sarmada the well of Abu Slejmân lies at the base of the Kârt al-Ḥaşâni. To the northwest we saw a lowland bounded on the north by the high bank of al-Ġiḥ, from which good, clear, white salt is dug. The Hebrân group forms four tabular hills, south of which are lower hillocks with the watering places of Sâلمي and al-Ḥtêle. The four dissected cones of al-Gaʿab and al-Gaʿejbe rose from the sands to the south of our route.

The outlier of the Nefûd which we had been traversing all the way from the Mtâleʿ ridge terminates at the rocks of Abraḳ aş-Sbâʿ and al-Wurejċ. The sand is white and *ʿâder* and *żirna* grow in it. South and west of the sandy zone there stretches a vast undulating plain strewn with the more resistant remnants of various strata, the greater part of which have been eroded and carried away. From 2.12 to 2.42 our camels grazed on *ġerad*, *ġafna*, *arṭa*, *ḥašîr* and *kaḥʿaʿ*.

To the northwest two table mountains were to be seen, one rather long and high, the other rather short and low. The former is known as Fardet an-Naẓîm and the latter as Fardet aş-Šemûs (Fig. 18). South of Fardet aş-Šemûs stretches a plain bounded on the south by three almost parallel elevations, namely Abraḳ aş-Šijûḥ, Ḥazm Zakûb, and Abu Nîrân. At the eastern base of Abraḳ aş-Šijûḥ is the well of al-Mrêr.

The al-Misma range grew clearer and clearer. Along the eastern front of these mountains stretches the lowland of al-Ksûrijje, to the north of which the plain of al-Mtêrde unfolds itself. At the south-western end of this plain the pool Ḥabra Kṭajje⁶³ is filled by rain water.

To the south of the Ḥabra Kṭajje the wells of aş-Šilkân are situated at the entrance to the pass of al-Mdejbeh. South of al-Misma the hills of al-ʿArkûb, Bâza, and al-ʿAnz rise above the sands. South of the last two, where the sands end, the undulating plain of Kaşfa spreads out.

⁶³ Al-Bekri, *Muʿġam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 740, and Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 144, knew of the watering station of Kṭajje between the two ranges of the Tajj tribe and the oasis of Tejma.

At five o'clock al-Ġa‘ab lay to the south and al-Wurejč⁶⁴ to the south-southwest.

Abraḳ aš-Šijûḥ and both Farde form the western boundary of the granitic area which we had entered at the hills

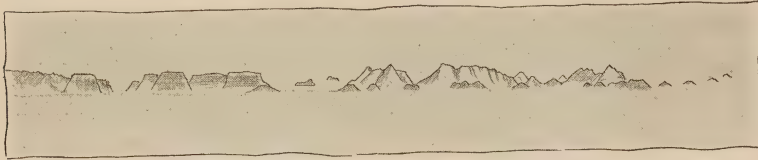


FIG. 18—Fardet aš-Šemûs, Fardet an-Nazîm, and Ḥibrân from the southeast.

of Jâtob. West of Abraḳ aš-Šijûḥ the hills are composed of sandstone, which succumbs more readily to erosion. At 5.07 we camped on the western edge of the sands.

ABRAḲ AŠ-ŠIJÛḤ TO AL-‘ÎD SANDS; AL-MISMA

On February 22 we were under way as early as 3.33. At 4.20 we descended on foot from the sand into the stony plain south of Abraḳ aš-Šijûḥ and proceeded to the west across the elevation Ḥazm Zakûb, which to the northwest passes into the Ḥazm abu Nîrân. From 6.15 to 6.50 our camels grazed. The undulating stony plain of al-Ksûrijje which we were traversing stretches south as far as the depression of an-Nekẓa, where there is a rain pond.

The plain of al-Ksûrijje is bare for the most part. Only in the depressions called *riẓân*, where the rain water is retained for a long time, there grow *metnân*, *mṭi*, ‘*arfeġ*, *korzi*, *ḥelleb*, *lubbêna*, *laḥjat al-beden*, *ġirġîr*, *rabel*, *zerî*, *mrâr*, *swajẓa*, *nikd*, *na‘mân*, and *brukân* (the blossoms of which resemble those of ‘*arfeġ*). At 8.40 we saw to the southwest, south of

⁶⁴ Abu ‘Obejda (Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 228) locates within the territory of the Beni Murra the mountain and rain wells of Urejċ, mentioned by the poet an-Nâbîra. — Our Wurejč lies in the southeastern part of the ancient territory of the Beni Murra; we may therefore identify it with the Urejċ of Abu ‘Obejda. The mountain of Urejċ is the modern mesa al-Wurejč. The place name al-Fawâre’ mentioned by Jâkût in connection with Urejċ has survived in the watering place of al-Fâre‘i, situated within fifty-seven kilometers to the southeast of al-Wurejč.

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, p. 211, thinks Uruk is to be found within the territory of the Fezâra tribe north of the volcanic zone of Lajla between al-Rawta and the Ġebel Šubh. — Harra Tenân is the northern offshoot of the ancient Harrat Lajla; hence we may locate Uruk north of that *harra*, where we find, in fact, both the mountain and watering place of al-Wurejč, this name being the dialectical diminutive of Uruk. The environs of al-Wurejč are called al-Rawta.

al-ʿArkûb (a southern spur of the Misma range), the moderately high cone of Bâza, with a *habra* of the same name near by.

At 9.10 we began to traverse the lowland of al-Ksûrijje, which is filled with water after plentiful rains. Such seasons linger in the minds of the Bedouins, and they date years from them. From 9.30 to 11.18, while resting on its southern border near the ruined fort of al-Ḳșêr, we charted the surrounding country. A few small heaps of stones are all that is left of the fort. ʿAli related that there also were artificial ramparts above the pass of al-ʿÂh as well as on the summit of as-Saṭṭha.

To the south we caught sight of two riders moving north-northwestward. Some more riders appeared soon after, and consequently we rested from 2.20 to 2.55 concealed in an enclosed basin. Our camels grazed while we hid behind the screen of an eroded crag and watched the riders. They were apparently a band of raiders. They came from the south, where neither the Šammar nor Weld Slejmân had their camps; hence they could be only Ḥarb or ʿAtejbe — enemies of my guides and thus also of me. Within about fifteen kilometers to the south of us the band stopped and built fires. It could not be doubted that they were preparing their evening meal and were about to ride the whole night. We hoped that the darkness would prevent them from discovering our tracks, but it was uncertain where they were going — whether to the east of al-Misma and into the Nefûd or to the west of the range — and, if the latter, which pass they would take. On starting again we urged our camels to quicken their pace.

At 3.30 we entered the pass of al-ʿÂh⁶⁵ (Fig. 19) by which our route crossed al-Misma.

⁶⁵ Al-Bekri, *op. cit.*, p. 641, states that al-ʿÂh is a place opposite Urul and that Urul (*ibid.*, pp. 85 f.) is a mountain within the territory of the Beni Gaʿada; according to others, Urul lies within the territory of the Beni Murra, and the place Du Urul derives its name from it. Al-Bekri also preserves the statements of Zejd al-Hejl, an-Nâbira ad-Dubjâni, and al-Kumejt in this connection. Zejd al-Hejl records that once the Beni Biğâd tribe was attacked there and that the Beni Biğâd belong to the ʿAbs group. An-Nâbira ad-Dubjâni also mentions the Du Urul. Al-Kumejt refers to the pasture lands of al-Liṣâf and Du Urul. — I conclude that the word Urul is a wrong transcription of Uruk. The hill of Uruk (al-Wurejê) rises opposite the entrance to the pass of al-ʿÂh and a spring water well lies near it.

Humejd ibn Ḥurejt ibn Baḥdal set out against the Beni Fezâra with a band of some two hundred men. Guided by two members of the Kalb tribe, he attacked the Beni Fezâra at al-ʿAmûd in order to exact taxes at the command of the caliph ʿAbdalmalek. (Abu-l-Farağ, *Arâni* [Bûlâk, 1285 A. H.], Vol. 14, p. 114; al-Bekri, *op. cit.*, p. 163.)

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 596, states that al-ʿÂh is a mountain within the Fezâra territory where a famous battle was fought. In the reign of the caliph ʿAbdalmalek, Humejd ibn Ḥurejt ibn Baḥdal of the Kalb tribe attacked the Beni Fezâra, whereupon the latter gathered together and fell on the Kalb at Banât Kejn. — Ibn Baḥdal used to camp on the spot where the Eben Saʿlân have their encampments at the present time. Al-ʿAmûd has been preserved today as the name of the plain stretching southeast of al-ʿÂh.

ʿAli showed me the place where Mamdûḥ, son of Saṭṭâm eben Šaʿlân, was slain in 1911 when fleeing from Bêza Netîl with the camels captured from the clan of al-Ġaʿâfra; he was, however, waylaid in the pass by Bedr âl ʿAwâġi. Mamdûḥ and



FIG. 19—Pass of al-ʿÂh.

a few of his comrades defended the entrance of the pass and perished.

The range of al-Misma, which we were now entering, closely resembles that of Eġaʿ. Like the latter it is made up of many peaks which rise to heights of over 1100 meters above the sea and are separated from each other by deep ravines into which sand is gradually penetrating from the north and west. The range begins to the north in the Nefûd as a line of countless sharp-pointed pyramids running from north to south and known as al-ʿAwġa; the farther south one follows these pyramids the broader and higher they become. Almost on the confines of the Nefûd

the defile Rî' aş-Şhajje separates them from lofty tabular hills on which here and there remnants of still higher eroded strata are superimposed. One of these remnants forms the summit of al-Behîm, which rises at about the middle of the range and is shaped not unlike a thumb.

North of al-Behîm, between it and the Rî' aş-Şhajje, is Mt. al-Kej-jûd (which overlooks the pass of al-Mdejbeĥ on the south), followed to the north by aş-Şihb, the pass of al-Ārzijje, and, beyond, by Mts. as-Saṭiĥa and aş-Şhajje. *Rûte* is reported to grow on aş-Şihb, the only place in the entire vicinity where it is found. We certainly found none of it either in the Nefûd or between al-Ġildijje and al-Ēla'. The remains of ancient houses are said to be found on the flat top of as-Saṭiĥa as well as in the Ērnân hills west of the al-Misma range.

South of al-Behîm is Mt. al-Ġmejma and, still farther south, the cone of al-Megles, which overlooks the pass of al-Āh on the northeast. Southeast of al-Āh the range terminates in Mts. ar-Roĥom, Abu Zerîbe, and an-Nsejĵ, which rise above the dunes of a long tongue of sand projecting southward from the Nefûd along the western base of the range.

In its southern portion al-Misma, like Eġa', is composed of three parallel ridges of isolated hills averaging seventy meters in height and extending from north to south. The ridges are divided by ravines, which in places exceed half a kilometer in width and in which isolated crags are to be seen.

Al-Misma is scantily watered and the few wells are very deep. The only spring is that of 'Uwênt al-Kalbe, which rises to the east of the pass of aş-Şhajje at the foot of an isolated hillock. At the entrance to the pass of al-Barĥa the Šilkân have sunk a well almost forty *bâ'* (c. 80 m.) deep. Its water is sufficient to supply sixty tents.

At 4.05 we reached some holes dug where rain water collects in the sand of the rocky river bed (*hesw*) (Fig. 20). On the surrounding crags, which were covered with carvings of various animals, fragments of *Tamûd* inscriptions were also preserved. 'Ali declared that the passes of al-Āh and al-Ārzijje are the most accessible of all, the others being very steep. Beyond the *hesw* the pass of al-Āh forms an angle. Having entrusted the camels to the protection of Ĥalaf and Manşûr, we stole up to this angle with rifles in our hands, in order to repel robbers, for such are fond of occupying this place.

We did not discover any, however, although the sand, which begins here, showed the fresh tracks of a camel. 'Ali held that it was a camel from a *ĥarra*, or volcanic region, for its hoofs were worn as smooth as a *rejâl* (silver coin). The farther west we went the higher the sand rose, covering the western ridge to the height of thirty meters (Fig. 21).

At 5.06 we emerged from the pass (Fig. 22) and proceeded to the southwest in order to find a camping spot for the night a little off the usual path. In the sand we observed

deep ruts made by the wheels of a motor car which had been despatched by Enver Pasha to Eben Rašîd and had passed through the defile of al-‘Âh on its way. At al-Mu‘azzam Chief Eben Feẓîr had received the car and a consignment of arms



FIG. 20—Ḥesw al-‘Âh.

and had conveyed both to Tejma; thence they were passed on to al-Howṭa by the al-Âjde clan of the Weld ‘Ali. The Weld Slejmân then effected their further transportation as far as Bêza Neṭîl; and finally the Šammar delivered them to Ḥâjel.

In the hot summer (*al-ḵejẓ*) the Weld Slejmân are accustomed to camp at Bêza Neṭîl, and in autumn (*aṣ-ṣferî*) at the wells of at-Tlejṭwât, which are thirty-five *bâ‘* (c. 70 m.) deep. Six of the wells are old, and four others which had been choked up were cleared out a few years ago by the Raẓawre clan of the Weld Slejmân. The water, which can supply three hundred tents every day, is fresh.

The group of rocks known as ar-Roḥom⁶⁶ rose on our left, and the tongue of sand ʿErż al-Ġmejma, which issues from the Ġerʿ ad-Dīb and terminates at Bâza, lay to the southwest.

To the southwest we saw the ridges of al-Ḥenzwa and al-Ḥnajzwa, between which Ṭonejb and al-Mšatṭabe came into view; to the north of these the eroded rocks of al-Meleḥijje appeared with the black ʿErnân in the background. At 6.06 we encamped in the sands of al-ʿĪd and determined the latitude.

AL-ʿĪD SANDS TO AL-MEḤAĠĠE

On February 23 we set out at 3.40 and at 5.40 reached the western extremity of the tongue of sand known as the ʿErż al-Ġmejma. At 5.50 the lowland and wells of at-Tlejtṭwât (called at-Tlejtṭwâj by the Šammar and at-Tlejtṭwaʿ by the Weld Slejmân) stretched to the north-northwest. Beyond them the Kârt ad-Dbejbijje encloses on the south the large plain of Rassâl. To the east this plain extends as far as the Nwêzjet al-ʿĪd. From 6.25 to 7.00 our camels grazed in the depression of al-ʿAbasijje (Fig. 23). To the southeast we saw the table mountain of al-ʿArḳûb, which terminates the al-Misma range. At 7.25 we arrived at the rocks of al-Meleḥijje, which jut out almost vertically above the level of the plain. The mesa of al-Mšatṭabe, with a rain pond to the west of it, came into view to the south. At eight o'clock we could observe the al-Misma mountains with their highest northern part, known as as-Saṭîḥa, displayed to their full extent. The *šēibân* of al-ʿÂdriġje and al-ʿAwġa rise in as-Saṭîḥa. In the foreground we saw the disconnected ridge of al-Ḥenzwa stretching in a southeasterly direction, and to the south of it the pyramids of al-Ḥnajzwa. At 8.30 we entered the defile Rîʿ as-Salâme (Fig. 24), which is overlooked on the north by the crimson spurs of al-Meleḥijje and on the south by a row of pillars providing a connecting link between the al-Ḥenzwa mountains and the black ridge of Kaṭʿat al-Wejs. The last named turns off somewhat to the north.

At 8.40 the ʿErnân mountains extended before us, running north and south. They are made up of two strata of sand-

⁶⁶ Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 771, knew of the country of ar-Raḥam between Neġd and Syria. — The narrow depression of stony ground at the western base of the al-Misma mountains is called the Nuḳrat ar-Roḥom and is traversed by a road leading from Neġd by way of Tejma to Syria. Therefore we may identify it with ar-Raḥam of Jâkût.

stone. The lower layer, about fifty meters thick, is horizontal; the upper, about forty meters thick, rests unconformably on the lower layer and dips westwards. In the ‘Ernân⁶⁷ there are the fissures of Żlât al-Bârûd and al-Ḳdêr, in which rain water



FIG. 21—Al-Misma’ from the northwest.

collects. At the eastern base there is a basin in which lie the rain wells of al-Koḥle and Šibân. To the north-northeast the solitary crags of Raṛâmîl Ḥamd wa Ḥamde stand in a basin. ‘Ali told us that ten years previously at the Raṛâmîl Ḥamd wa Ḥamde the Htejm, led by their commander Šanejtân eben

⁶⁷ Imrulkajs, *Diwân* (De Slane), p. 33, remembered the wild asses in Šorba and antelopes in the ‘Ernân.

Al-Bekri, *Mu‘ğam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 655, states that ‘Ernân is a mountain in al-Ġenâb to the north of the Wâdi al-Ḳura’. He refers to Ibn Muḳbel as mentioning the sand desert

Şmejtân, had attacked the camp of the Weld Slejmân and robbed it of forty tents and of upwards of six hundred she-camels.

The Htejm belong to the pariah tribes of Arabia.

I have ascertained the names of the following clans:

ad-Dibe	(chief: Samrân eben Semre)
al-Ġleda'	(„ Miz'el eben Šmêlân)
Âl Barrâk	(„ Dlejm eben Barrâk)
al-Ġluwijje	(„ Eben Ĥzejje)
Dwâmiž	
al-Ġġawne.	

At 10.10 we reached the ravine of Tel'et al-Koĥle, which extends northeastward from the 'Ernân. From 10.30 to 11.43 we rested at the Raḍir al-Rzej. At twelve o'clock we arrived at a small cemetery, generations old. 'Ali did not know to whom it belonged, as the Weld Slejmân did not inter their dead there. He showed me a heap of stones on the Kaḡbr as-Salâme, or grave of as-Salâme, who, 'Ali said, was the hero of the Beni Helâl.

At 12.15 for the first time we beheld to the southeast the innumerable rounded columns, cones, and rectangular pillars of al-Ĥlal.

Southeast of these towered the saddle-shaped al-Ĥaram. Still farther southeast the hill of Danan rises from the plain of al-Muṭrež. From this hill the valley of al-Mizneb winds its course to the northwest and feeds the rain ponds of al-'Akejfa and Umm Sidre. West of Danan the hill of Orênbe came into view; beyond it a projection of the volcanic zone Ĥarra Tenân could be seen and in front of it, east of al-Ĥaram, the rain pond of Umm al-Medâber. At the southern extremity of al-Ĥaram nestles the dome of 'Omejjed al-Ĥaram, southwest of which gleamed the rain ponds of Umm aš-Šrit and a second Umm al-Medâber. South of these there rise the yellowish hills of al-Bârijât, Abraḡ as-Soboṭ, and al-Ĥarma, from which the *še'ib* of aš-Šežiz (in which there is a watering place of the same name) sweeps to the north along the eastern edge of the plateau of the Ab-ad-Dhejm. Beyond the depression of al-Bḡejre northwest of al-Ĥlal are grouped the hillocks of al-Meġağge, al-Ĥamra, and Ba'ara.

of 'Ernân and of Asnuma, and to Šeġib ibn al-Barša as recording 'Ernân together with the Zaġr Wâdeġa. —

Our 'Ernân lies in the country formerly called al-Ġenâb. In the environs a large number of dunes are to be found; the sand desert of Asnuma lies near Sanâm al-'Afar and Sanâm al-Ĥamar. The ridge of Wâdeġa may be the hillocks at the wells of Wazġa.

As-Sakûni (Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 656) locates the mountain of 'Ernân between the oasis of Tejma and the two mountain ranges of the Taġj tribe. He quotes Naşr as placing 'Ernân in the hills of Şubġ within the Fezâra territory. — Our 'Ernân mountains are traversed by the transport roads which led from the mountains of the former Taġj tribe to the oasis of Tejma. The hills of Şubġ may have been the ridge of al-Misma'.

The passes of al-Meġâder pierce the Şubġ mountains (*ibid.*, p. 649).

At 12.30 the imposing mass of al-Ḥaram lay directly below the sun. ‘Omejjed al-Ḥaram closely resembles the Rotunda in Vienna, its lantern, however, being proportionally much larger. At 1.20 we crossed the Tel‘et al-Ḥṣûn, which issues from the



FIG. 22—Pass of al-‘Âh, west end.

‘Ernân. After one o’clock the heat among the black rocks through which we were passing became unbearable. From 2.15 to 2.48 we rested behind crags with flat walls that seemed as if they had been dressed smooth. At 3.44 we saw Mt. az-Zebna rising to the southwest above a deep lowland; Ba‘ara was in the foreground. At the base of az-Zebna there is a *žalta* (crevice filled by rain) while a *ša‘ara* lies in Ba‘ara. *Ša‘ara*, or *kaṭṭâr*, denotes a spring the water of which does not flow actively but merely trickles drop by drop. At 3.45 the southern end of the Helwân mountains emerged to the northwest of us, and southeast of it the hillocks of Abu Mṛêr, al-‘Azâmijjât, and az-Ẓalma rose into view. Between az-Ẓalma and the ‘Ernân is situated the round basin of an-Nawwâḥa, which contains the wells of al-Ḥazâjeb.

‘Ali told us that many years previously at the Ẓaltat az-Zebna—which at 4.40 lay to the southeast of us—Ḥalaf âl Iden made a raid on the camp of the ‘Awâḡi family, but was repelled. The same Ḥalaf was the most loyal follower of Fâres,

son of Fahad eben Ša'lán, whom in 1910 the Government nominated Prince of the Rwala. After an-Nûri's return from prison Ḥalaf fled to the Tûmân tribe and spurred them against his kinsmen. When in 1913 he had become reconciled with an-



FIG. 23—From al-‘Abasijje looking west.

Nûri, he returned to his people, but in the winter of 1913-14 he was waylaid at ‘Amûd by the Tûmân and slain.

At 4.42 we could see to their full extent the Ḥelwân mountains and the hillocks rising to the east of them, from the rocks of Zbej on the northeast to the rock of al-Bkarât on the southeast; the latter, which suggests the castle of Mâred in al-Ġowf, rises from the lowland of an-Nawwâha. To the north of the hillocks of al-‘Azâmijjât is situated the basin Nkejrat aš-Šakḡâr, in which lie the wells of al-Ḳawwâd and al-Ḥšâne.⁶⁸

Encamping at 5.30 in a small depression surrounded by crags (Fig. 25), we determined the latitude.

On February 24 we set out at 3.38 and at 5.30 arrived at the saddle between az-Zalma and az-Zebna. A violent easterly wind blew. At six o'clock the well of al-Ḥazâjeb, which lies in a lowland, was to the northeast; in front of us were two southerly hummocks of az-Zalma, and to the south the rocks of al-Mzejjen appeared in the foreground.

We were passing through a natural museum which has no rival elsewhere in the world. It would almost seem that the prototype of every artistic production at the hands of the sculptor was to be found here. All styles and orders of architecture are represented. Towers in Gothic, Romanesque, and baroque; columns and pillars of all conceivable shapes; obelisks, pyramids, pylons, cones, pinnacles; most absurd stools and chairs; whole groups of large and small figures, all these

⁶⁸ According to Jākût, *Muġam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 274, al-Ḥašan is a rain pond between the two mountain ranges of the Tâjj tribe and the oasis of Tejma. — The well of al-Ḥšâne lies a short distance off the road leading from Eġa' and Salma to Tejma. As there is a rain pond in the vicinity it may be al-Ḥašan of Jākût.

may be seen by anyone with imagination. The play of colors when the rising sun illuminated this endless exhibition was extraordinarily beautiful. We rested from 6.15 to 6.44. From 7.10 we saw the flat ridge of an-Naṣla to the south-south-



FIG. 24—Rî° as-Salâme from the east.

west and to the south-southeast of this the group of al-‘Âẓer and ad-Drejje‘ât. At 8.10 we were proceeding through al-Meḥaḡḡe (Fig. 26), a lane winding between two walls of rocks which resemble forts. ‘Ali said that the Prophet had got as far as this lane. To the northeast he showed us the well Žaltat an-Nsejr in the steep side of a black hillock. To the southwest we looked down into the deep basin of ad-Dwejbân, strewn with numerous low isolated crags and bounded by the elevation of Ab-ad-Dhejm. At 8.44 the rocks of al-‘Azâmijjât came into view to the northeast, the hills of al-‘Ajreč to the northwest, and the well of Laḳaṭ⁶⁹ to the south.

AL-MEḤAḡḡE TO AL-ĠHARA

At 9.08 the broad low hill of ar-Rwâf rose into view to the west-southwest, gray at the base and black at the summit. At 9.44 three imposing mesas appeared to the west-northwest. The easterly one, the ‘Omejjed al-Bird ends in a tall pillar; the one in the middle, called Bird (or Bird ummu Ḳṣejr), has vertical walls, and the one to the west, Ba‘ûr, appears to be cut off towards the south.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Jākût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 362, and Abu-l-Fadâ’il, *Marâsid* (Juynboll) Vol. 3, p. 15, state that al-Lukâta is a locality within the territory of the Beni Fezâra near al-Ḥāḡer, where Mâlek ibn Zejd, whose brother Ḳejis ar-Râ’i ibn Zuhejr was celebrated for his victory over the Dubjân and Fezâra, was slain. — Our Laḳaṭ lies within the ancient territory of the Fezâra tribe, and there is no doubt about its identity with the watering place of Laḳaṭ which Abu-l-Fadâ’il locates between the two mountain ranges of the Ṭajj tribe and the oasis of Tejma, i. e. somewhere near the road connecting Tejma with inner Arabia.

⁷⁰ Al-Bekri, *op. cit.*, pp. 146 f., writes that Barid is a locality in the Ḥarrat Lajla on the road to Tejma. He quotes a verse from the poet Ġarîr where al-Bardân in the dual number is used. — Al-Bardân denotes the ‘Omejjed al-Bird and the Bird ummu Ḳṣejr. To be sure, they do not lie within the volcanic desert of Ḥarrat Lajla but are situated within a short distance of its northern boundary on the way to Tejma.

Jākût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 555, places the two isolated mountains of Bard and Ru‘âf

From 9.45 to 10.55 our camels grazed in a gully between lofty rocks. At 11.12, looking northeastward through a gorge between the rocks of al-ʿAzâmijjât (Fig. 27), we could see the western extremity of Abu Mr̥r, a group of sand-covered



FIG. 25—Al-Bḥejre, our camp.

hills at the northeastern end of which the Želib abu Mr̥r is situated. The hillocks of Čbâd, separated from the Helwân by the hills of Rorejmîlât al-ʿAbed, emerged in the northwest. From 1.50 to 2.17 we rested. Ever since passing al-Ġildijje (see above, p. 75) we had been seeing many remarkable rock figures, pyramids, towers, and mounds, but the diversity was so great that it had become wearisome. Nâzel, however, was quite indifferent to it all. As he did not know the country and was not the guide, he indulged in reminiscences. He sang ditties in which he extolled the beauty of a maiden called ʿAlja. When I enquired who she was, he spoke of her as his first and only love. She had been destined for his cousin Fahad but loved Nâzel, who reciprocated her affection. Once, when migrating, she rode past his father's tent, singing in a soft voice to intimate where and when they might meet again.

as rising above the plain between the oasis of Tejma and the watering place of Ġafr ʿAneze to the south. — Ġafr ʿAneze is identical with the Gaw Wāḳsa. The noun *ġafr* is modified by the attributive ʿAneze, for in the thirteenth century this territory was the property of the ʿAneze tribe, in whose possession it has remained ever since. Mt. ar-Rwâf rises south-southeast of the Bird.

Nâzel was just then building a fire to brew some coffee for his father, but in listening to ‘Alja’s singing he forgot to fan the fire and it went out. A blow from a stick reminded him of his duties. He owed his love to Fahad, who renounced

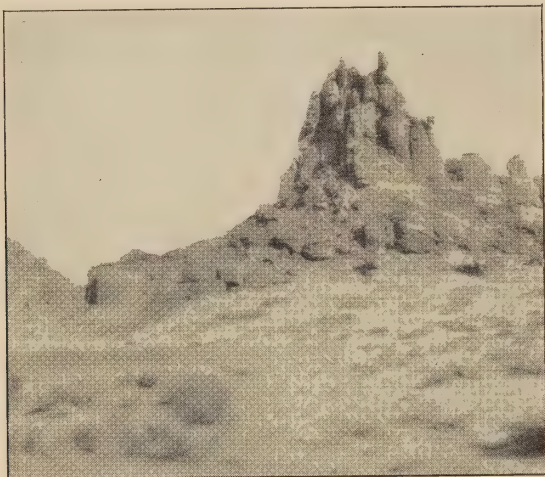


FIG. 26—Rocks overlooking defile of al-Meḥaḡḡe.

‘Alja in his favor. She had died in 1910 after bearing him a daughter, Mōzi by name.

“O Mûsa, I cannot forget her. I see her image day and night. I married again half a year ago and have a good wife who endeavors to please me, but she is not ‘Alja. I shall divorce her. There is no second ‘Alja in this world.”

At 3.50 ‘Ali indicated a dark rock to the north-north-west, near which the run-off collects in the pond of al-Btejn, and to the south he showed where the rain pools Mšejjiš at-Trejja lay. We noticed the tracks of a few riders, who had gone northward. ‘Ali examined them minutely and decided that they had been made on the previous day, as dew had once fallen on them. At 5.20 we camped among the eroded crags of at-Trejja.

On February 25 we resumed our journey at 3.32. As Nâzel began to complain bitterly of severe pains in his abdomen we halted at 5.28 and treated him with tea. At 6.00 we remounted our camels. Ar-Rwâf rose to the south, and

the loftiest peak of the Bird group towered to the north-northwest (Fig. 28). The Želīb Ba'ūr lay to the north-northwest of the mountain of the same name. To the west-northwest (or, as 'Alī put it, "in the shade of the rising sun of this day, *zelāl haṣ-ṣubh*") of the Bird, lies the Ḥabra 'Eṭmān.

On the rocky plain which we were crossing there are numerous shallow hollows in which rain water is retained. Such a shallow hollow is called *kaṣ'a*. If it lies along the borders of the Nefūd or if the rocky plain is strewn with sand here and there, it is known as *hubta*. *Ḥalīža* is a Šamar term for a subterranean passage. The 'Omejjed al-Bird resembles a high castle with a slender tower erected on an imposing rock. To the northwest of Bird ummu Kṣejr there rose into view the tabular hill Kārt al-Ḥejrān, where terminates the *še'ib* of al-Kaw coming from the south. This *še'ib* rises south of the hill of al-Ḥalfān and winds through the plain of al-Ġhara between the Ab-ad-Dhejm plateau on the east and the dissected tract of the Ḥeġāz on the west. On the left it is joined by the *še'ib* of Šāra,⁷¹ which issues from the hills of ar-Rnām, and by the *še'ib* of al-Habīr, at the head of which lies the well of Šwēr.

To the east of the upper part of al-Kaw⁷² are the wells of 'Ašāra and Wākṣa and the Ḥabra abu Rķejje. North of the termination of the *še'ib* of al-Habīr the Mšejš al-Kuwwabli lies in the channel and is surrounded by a number of *ṭalḥ* trees which form the groves of al-Rarājes.

At 7.40 we saw the beginning of the Ḥeġāz proper: the dark red hills of al-Ḥamar, which form a portion of the rough hill country of al-Hazb, closing the horizon on the west. This territory of al-Hazb belongs to the Weld 'Alī, or, more prop-

⁷¹ Naṣr records (Jākūt, *Mu'ġam* [Wüstenfeld], Vol. 3, p. 361) that Šāra is a mountain within the territory of the Beni Asad; according to others (Jākūt, *loc. cit.*) it is a mountain near the station of Fejd. Jākūt cites az-Zamaḥšari as adding that Šāra is a mountain rising from the plain between the oasis of Tejma and Wādi al-Kura'. — Our *še'ib* of Šāra penetrates hills of the same name, past which the road from Tejma leads to the lower Wādi al-Kura'.

⁷² Jākūt, *Mu'ġam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 3, p. 584, states that 'Ādijje is a locality within the Kalb territory since the poet al-Musajjab locates it within earshot of the watering place of Kaww. — We may seek the 'Ādijje of Jākūt to the southwest of Palmyra in the vicinity of the 'Āde mountains, which at one time belonged to the Kalb tribe. The 'Ādijje of the poet al-Musajjab must lie either within the territory of the Asad tribe or to the south of the oasis of Tejma, near our valley of Kaww.

Imruḷkajs, *Diwān* (De Slane), pp. 25 f., describes how Sulejma of the tribe of Kināna traveled from the valleys of Kaww and 'Ar'ar by Tejmar, aṣ-Šafa', al-Muṣakkar, Ḥamala, Awġār, and Hawrān, to the tribe of Rassān (the Ghassanians). — Kaww lies to the south of the oasis of Tejma; hence Sulejma must have proceeded by way of Tejma (not Tejmar) and then have taken the Pilgrim Road to the Hawrān.

Jākūt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 908, thinks that Tejmar was a settlement in Syria or somewhere in the Ḥeġāz, and he quotes Imruḷkajs as his reference; in the verse quoted, however, Imruḷkajs connects Baṭn Tejmarā' with al-Aflāġ in al-Jemāma.

erly, to the Âjde and Fuḵara’ clans. The Âjde (or al-Ajde) outnumber the Fuḵara’, although the latter are greater fighters. The Âjde possess the watering places of ‘Areda and ‘Arejda on the eastern border of al-Hazb. At 8.10 we had the rock Ruzu-



FIG. 27—Rocks of al-‘Azâmiyyât.

mat al-Ḥalfân to the south-southwest and the Kârt an-Naṣla to the northwest. The hillocks of al-Ḥwejmât lay to our right. We traversed the rocky plain of al-Ġhara, which is strewn with sandy knolls protected from the violence of the winds by the roots of the ‘*alanda*’.

From 9.04 to 10.09 we rested at the Ḥabra al-Ḥwejmât. The pond was full of pure rain water, and a belt of rank perennials surrounded it. After our jaded camels had drunk and grazed as much as they pleased, we washed and filled

our water bags. Nâzel found near by two strings such as are used for tying the legs of camels (*laḳejt* *ʾakḳâlên aḥadḥthen*). ʿAli thought that Mešʿân âl ʿAwâġi, the head chief of the Weld Slejmân, to whom this pond belongs, was camping in the neighborhood. At 12.25 we arrived at the shallow *šeʿib* of al-Ḳaw, about which, as well as on the plain to the west, grow many *talḥ* trees; *rimt* and *hamra* also appeared here and there. The plain of al-Ġhara⁷³ stretches to the south as far as the territory of the Ḥarb tribe. The air trembled above it in the hot beams of the sun, and the trees and shrubs seemed to move, increasing in height and width in such a way that on several occasions we thought riders were passing in front of us.

AL-ĠHARA INTO HILLS OF AL-HAẒB

From 1.00 to 1.25 our camels grazed near a small oblong depression about three meters wide, in which we had discovered water. Such a depression is called *ḥabče*. At 2.17 we saw the first *rotom* (*sic!*) shrub, a plant that does not grow in the inner desert. At 2.25 we arrived at a piece of ground trampled by horses, from which we knew that an attack had been repelled there some time previously. When we discussed the subject of horses, ʿAli remarked that the flesh of mares and stallions descended from the *kḥejla*, *saḳlâwije*, *ḥazba*, *ʿobejje*, and *maʿnakijje* pure-bred races may be eaten.

The rock of Ab-al-Mêh rose to the north, resembling a

⁷³ The modern al-Ġhara coincides with the ancient al-Ġenâb.

Ibn Ishâk narrates (aṭ-Ṭabari, *Taʾrîḥ* [De Goeje], Ser. 1, pp. 1593, 1759; al-Wâkedi, *Maʾâzi* [Wellhausen], pp. 298 f.) that in 628-629 Baṣîr ibn Saʿd made a raid on the Raṭafân in al-Ġenâb below the oasis of Ḥajbar. — The oasis of Ḥajbar had been captured a short time previously and consequently this Ġenâb could not have lain south of Ḥajbar but must have been to the north of it.

Other Arabic authors agree that the country of al-Ġenâb stretched between the oases of Ḥajbar and Tejma, i. e. to the north of Ḥajbar.

Al-Masʿûdi, *Tanbîḥ* (De Goeje), p. 262, speaks of the same raid and adds that it was directed against Jumn and Ġubâr, two places in the direction of al-Ġenâb, which, he says, lies between the Wâdi al-Ḳuraʾ and Ḥajbar. — According to this we must locate al-Ġenâb northwest of the oasis of Ḥajbar. It is the whole tract of country in which Jumn and Ġubâr are comprised. Jumn coincides with the modern watering place of al-Jamn.

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 1037, locates the watering place of Jamn or Jumn between the valley of Ḳaww and the mountain of Ruʾâf on the road leading from the oasis of Fejd to the oasis of Tejma. According to some other authorities it was the property of the Raṭafân tribe, but according to others it belonged to the Beni Širma of the Murra tribe. It was also known as Amn. — The valley of al-Ḳaw lies to the west of Mt. ar-Rwâf.

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 827, records that Bard and Ruʾâf are two isolated mountains in the deserted region between the oasis of Tejma and Gafr ʿAneze. He quotes a verse in which the poet Kejs ibn Ḥaṭim mentions a thicket near Ruʾâf which was a haunt of lions. — South of ar-Rwâf and Bird many thick groves have been preserved down to our days and the country to the south and west of ar-Rwâf is sufficiently watered; lions may well have haunted it.

Al-Bekri, *Muġam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 393, and Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 120, agree in recording that al-Ġenâb spreads between the territories of the Beni Murra ibn Dubjân and the Beni Lejt ibn Ḳudâʾa.

tall minaret; south of it is the Žaltat al-Maġhûde, a rain pool of considerable size. At 3.25 we crossed the trails leading to the wells of ‘Areda to the northwest. At 4.32 we reached the eastern edge of the al-Hazb hills.



FIG. 28—Ar-Rwâf and Bird from the east.

These hills begin about thirty-five kilometers to the southwest of Tejma, immediately south of the ridge Kaṭṭâr al-Ġraġda and the lowland of al-Ṛmêrijje, and extend as far as the environs of al-Medîna. They consist of groups of rocky heights with large and small basins between them. In their northern portion, called Hazb al-Bajaž, appeared the following groups of heights, as named to me by ‘Ali: ad-Derš, Sarmada, al-Mkattabe, Tlejtŵât, Weḥef al-Adâma, Ġebelt aš-Šeržijje (on which is the well of Rḥejjân), al-Mabdene, al-‘Ašâra (with wells of that name), ‘Amrân (with the wells of Ammu-r-Rkejbe), al-Merâja, and Ĥorb. Hazb al-Ḥamar, lying to the south, is traversed by the broad dell of al-Afhâd, which extends from al-Rlâle southward and is defined by the hills of Umm Nežâje, al-Ahejl, al-Habîr, and Šâra on the east, and by aš-Ša’ba, Šir’ân, Dalbaḥ, Ḥašât ad-Dâbb, al-Esâhem, Umm al-Eġbân, and ar-Rnâm on the west. Among the hills to the west of al-Afhâd there are the wells of Bwa’, al-Žeddâl, al-Ḥajj, Šwêr, Širt, and Šrejf. Along the western edge of the Hazb al-Bajaž hills there extends the narrow dell of al-Mzešš, which turns off to the southeast and divides the western part of Hazb al-Ḥamar into two almost equal portions. On the east al-Mzešš is bordered by the hill groups of ad-Dheme, al-Lumejma, Mrejčbet aš-Šihbi, az-Zmejhiġje, Abu-n-Našibe, Škejž ad-Dîb, aš-Šoṭb, al-Marḳab, and Ab-al-Mrêr, at the last of which it terminates. On the west it is defined by the groups of az-Zmejle, ar-Râcbe, Umm ‘Âder, ‘Elw Ḥefa’, Maḳraṭ ad-Dabbûs, Umm Laḥam, and Raḃiṭ Ṭajj.

After turning slightly to the northwest, we made camp at at 5.18.

On February 26, 1915, starting at 3.27, we had to pass through the saddle-shaped sandstone hills called al-Ahejl until



FIG. 29—Mšâš al-Ḥajj.

we had penetrated to the dell of al-Afḥâd; then we proceeded west-southwest. At six o'clock the well of Ṣwêr lay south of us. From 6.35 to 6.55 we rested near the Mšâš al-Ḥajj (Fig. 29).

We passed through ravines, now broad, now narrow, in which *rotom*, *rimt*, *niḳd*, *basbâs*, *brukân*, *ḥawḍân*, *slejla*, *ḥem-ḥem*, *rešâd*, *ḥamšîs*, *ḳazûḥ*, and *mṭi* grew. Full of restless agitation we awaited our first meeting with the Weld 'Ali who were encamped in al-Ḥaḏb. It was not improbable that they would attack us, for we had entered their territory without a comrade to protect us from their hostility. 'Ali was a member of the Weld Slejmân, who in 1914-1915 were neither friends nor enemies of the Weld 'Ali (*mâ ḥenna šâḥeb w mâ ḥenna ḳowm*). Being a Šammari, Nâzel was hated by the Weld 'Ali, for in 1910 Eben Rašîd had forced them to contribute an annual tax. When, in the hills of al-Esâḥem, we heard the voices of the herdsmen, we hid ourselves lest they catch sight of us and shout the alarm. We wished to encounter some women or children. If they return the wayfarer's greeting, he

is saved (*sallâm selîm allâh*). Allâh brought to pass what we wished. An old man accompanied by two women and a few children rode forth from a deep ravine, on the left side of which we had just arrived. He was migrating to a new camp-



FIG. 30—Hills of al-Esâhem.

ing ground. We offered our salutation and he returned it, eyeing us in surprise. ‘Ali entered into conversation with him and we continued our journey. From 10.00 to 10.47 our camels grazed about the hills of al-Esâhem (Fig. 30).

No open view was obtainable either to the right or left. On all sides there rose steep walls of rock which not infrequently overhung us, almost meeting over our heads. When passing from ravine to ravine we had to ascend narrow defiles in order to reach the saddles between the various hillocks and dome-like elevations, from the tops of which we might have viewed the surrounding country. The whole region suggests a sea of vaulted roofs, among which lofty cylinders and cones spring up here and there. Some of these roof-like structures are low, but others are very high and visible from afar. The various groups of hills are separated by gorges as much as seventy meters deep and twenty to one hundred meters wide. In some places the individual “roofs” have been riven by vertical fissures two to five meters wide. To cross these is extremely

difficult and at night is even dangerous. The inhabitants of these hills camp in hidden gorges and, as camels do not prosper here, they rear goats and sheep. Nâzel was very restless. Accustomed to the broad expanses of the desert with its endless



FIG. 31—In the plain Šķejž ad-Dib.

vistas, he trembled from fear in these gorges, where often he could see no further than two meters and where a boy seated on a "roof" might have killed him by dropping a small stone. Even when we had got to the summit of a saddle Nâzel would complain that it was not possible to see if there was anyone in the neighboring gorges. No one was to be met on the hilltops, as no clan could have pitched a camp there. The roads pass through the gorges, where camps are established that cannot be seen from the hilltops. Nâzel implored Allâh not to send him to this country after death and prayed that his spirit might not rove through the Ḥeġâz in dreams. "This is a country for goats and not for people, and the people who inhabit these parts must be like goats." So said Nâzel. From 1.20 to 1.42 we rested.

‘Ali told us that the Âjde in al-Hazb grudge the vast plains and the Nefûd to the tribes of the Rwala, Šammar, and even to the Weld Slejmân, and that they are very superstitious and fear Fate. Living all their lives in gorges and ravines,

they never see any broad vistas and their minds have become adapted to their constrained surroundings. They are hidden in the ravines, it is true; but if their enemies discover their camping grounds, they may be hemmed in and annihilated.



FIG. 32—Pass of al-Mu‘tedel.

When such a gorge is closed by the enemy, defense and escape are alike impossible. That is why they fear the Fate which the Bedouin of the open desert may avoid.

AL-HAZB TO AL-‘ELA’

At 2.10 a west wind rose. At three o’clock the temperature was 30° C. At four o’clock we arrived at a fairly large plain called Škejž ad-Dīb (Fig. 31) where *barwak* grew. To the south the horizon was enclosed by a high black slope surmounted by the imposing an-Nhala mountains, also black. ‘Ali informed us that these mountains were inhabited by the tribe of Bedâwne, or Bdûn, who belong neither to the ‘Aneze nor to the Beli. This tribe, he said, camps only in the highest part of the mountains, never descending to the adjacent lowlands, and lives only on the produce of its goats. Near the Rudr aš-Šoṭb we sighted about fifteen tents, by which we encamped at 5.12. The tents belonged to a family of the Âjde,

from among whom we hired a man, 'Ajša eben Drêrez by name, as guide to al-'Ela^o and back to al-Hazb. We determined the latitude.

On February 27 at 3.35 we left the encampment and passed across the rocks of Škejš ad-Dīb and Maḡraṭ ad-Dabbūs. At 4.20 we reached the highlands of 'Elw Ḥefa^o, and at six o'clock the rugged mountains of Zel^o umm Laḡam were to our left. From 6.18 to 6.46 our camels grazed. By the road known as Darb aš-Šağara we descended from a sand drift toward a broad plain called aš-Šlejbe, stretching from north to south and full of small hillocks which looked like heaps of yellow salt. At 8.06 we entered the plain. The tabular hills of al-Bâza rose to the north, with the hillocks of al-Ḥwâra southwest of them. The view westward was delightful. The yellowish hillocks of al-Ḥwâra were outlined against the steep black slope of the *ḡarra* (volcanic tract) beyond, and above this slope rose five extinct volcanoes known as al-Ešêhed, with the table-topped Zôr to the north of them. Two deep ravines cut through the slope from west to east, running down towards the plain which we were traversing. The plain was gray, sandy, and overgrown with *rimt*, which seemed to impart a greenish luminosity to the air above. At 8.34 the defile of al-'Aḡejb, crossed by the ancient Pilgrim Road to the wells of al-Bedâje^o, lay on our left. Through the defile a glimpse could be obtained of the mountains of al-Mrêḡa and Rabîṭ Tajj. At 8.43 we rode towards the ravines of aš-Šellâl and al-'Ašâr; these issue from the *ḡarra* and communicate with the valley of aš-Šežîž, which rises to the north near the railway station of al-Muṭalla^o.

From 10.00 to 10.50 our camels grazed on *firs* and *aḡḡejm* about the rocks of al-Miğdar; these enclose on the south the pass of al-Muṭedel (Fig. 32), the northern side of which is bounded by the white hillocks of al-Ḥwâra. At 11.25 the remains of the fort of az-Zeribe lay to our right in the defile of al-Muṭedel. At twelve o'clock for the first time we saw a *samr* tree, and then another tree, a *sejâl*. The entrance to the defile is faced by the truncated cone of an-Naṭla (Fig. 33), which consists of black lava at the top, of yellowish-white sandstone in the middle, and of red sandstone at the base. The ravine of aš-Šellâl yawns to the right of it and that of al-'Ašâr opens to the left. At 12.15 we arrived at a small artificial wall which crosses the defile of al-Muṭedel from north to

south, and at 12.20, emerging from the defile, we entered the valley of al-‘Edejb and proceeded south through the ruins al-Ḥrejbe or Dajdân. On the east they are bounded by al-Migdar, a natural wall of sandstone in which the entrances of numerous



FIG. 33—An-Natla from the south.

tombs may be observed, and on the west by al-‘Edejb, a small brook. In the ruins we saw many excavations. Al-‘Elawijje, the inhabitants of al-‘Ela’, search here for antiquities. Water from the brook is drained off into a conduit which carries it along the eastern outskirts of the gardens of al-‘Ela’ as far as the railway station, where it irrigates gardens laid out not long ago. At 12.45 we crossed the brook at the beginning of the old gardens and at 1.40 reached their southern outskirts. Measured by the railway milestones the old gardens exceed four kilometers in length. At their eastern extremity the rails pass between the brook and the wall of the rocks. The settlement of al-‘Ela’ lies almost in the middle of the gardens at the foot of al-Ḥlâle, a wall of rock which encloses them on the west. The gardens are composed mostly of palm plantations, but small fields are also to be seen sown with wheat and

barley and irrigated by the farmers from shallow wells. At 2.04 we arrived at the railway station. On the east the oasis of al-ʿElaʿ is enclosed by the bold bluffs of al-Miġdar, as-Shejm (Fig. 34), Umm Hašim, and al-Ḥamme, and on the west by



FIG. 34—As-Shejm from the south.

al-Mrejra, al-Umejme, aš-Šadr, and al-Rlâle, which extend from north to south. The oasis may be tilled for a distance of about twenty kilometers southward, as there is plenty of water under the sand and débris.

As soon as we had unloaded, I went to the gendarmerie station and was conducted by a gendarme into the station house. Having roused the officer from his sleep, I requested him to show me the consignment of things which, before starting from Damascus, I had ordered sent to me. When I saw the packing intact I asked him to entrust the consignment, along with further things which I wished to deposit, to the personal custody of a reliable official and to have them all sent back to Damascus. In a moment the room was full of various officials. The *kâjmakâm*, together with the postmaster, revenue officer, magistrate, and others, had all come to bid

me welcome and to enquire who I was, where I had arrived from, etc. All the officials were quartered in houses erected southwest of the railway station along fine gardens laid out after the construction of the railway. Pleading pressure of



FIG. 35—AL-ʿELA°, the gardens.

business, I did not satisfy their curiosity and began my writing. In the evening we determined the latitude.

On February 28 in the morning I prepared photographic plates and photographed the surrounding country and gardens (Figs. 35, 36) north of the railway station close to the settlement. The space between these gardens and the railway station might also be converted into a beautiful park if only the water of the brook of aš-Škejž (or aš-Šežīž) were conducted thither through pipes to prevent its getting lost in the sand.

The *ḵâjmakâm* visited me in my tent, but I did not speak to him, for I was just changing the photographic plates. About noon I transcribed all the topographical names and packed the things I wished to send to Damascus. In the afternoon a sand storm arose from the northwest. The sand formed an opaque mist and covered everything in my tent with a layer one centimeter deep. Towards evening the storm abated.

Ferîd, the sherif who had conducted a delegation of Enver Pasha to Eben Rašîd, visited me on several occasions. Formerly he had served as a *mudîr*, or governor of a small district, in the Heğâz. Nâzel told me that he had received gold from the minister Sa'ûd. Towards evening a number of the inhabitants of al-'Ela' came to enquire when and where we were going. Nâzel and 'Ali advised me to tell no one our proposed route and hour of departure lest the robbers from al-'Ela' and its environs might attack us. They both assured the visitors that we were going to stay for a few days on our camping place. The inhabitants of al-'Ela' pay tribute to the clan of al-Âjde, who were just then at war with the Beli as well as with al-Mwâhib, subjects to the chief Abu Šûše, and hence mutual robbing was in vogue. Muṭlaḡ eben Farḡân al-Îdi, chief of the Âjde, was sojourning in al-Medîna, settling by composition some trouble over the payment of blood money, as one of his subjects had murdered and robbed two settlers from al-Medîna whom he was accompanying as *hawî* (comrade or dear brother) and whom it was his duty to protect. 'Ali, who told me this, was of the opinion that all the inhabitants of al-Medîna and Mecca should be slaughtered, as they do not say prayers, disregard the commandments, and rob and exploit the pilgrims. This was his experience on the pilgrimage he had made two years previously to the two sacred cities.

While in al-'Ela' I sent to the Government in Constantinople a telegraphic report on the behavior of Eben Rašîd, but failed to receive any answer — a token that the Government was not satisfied with my proceedings, trusting Eben Rašîd more than me. Fearing lest they might order me to return by the Heğâz Railway, I hastened our departure to the east.

CHAPTER V

AL-‘ELA’ TO LÎNE ALONG THE SOUTHERN BORDER OF THE NEFÛD

AL-‘ELA’ TO AŞ-ŞOTB

On March 1, 1915, we were in the saddle as early as 3.35. Once alongside the garden walls, with our arms in our hands, we rode off silently as ghosts. To our left we saw dark palm trees and beyond them high gloomy mountains, the rocky walls of which were veiled by thin wisps of mist; to our right the bright moonlight revealed the bluffs of al-Miğdar with the somber gates of the tombs of the tribe of Dajdân. In passing through the ruins of al-Ĥrejbe, we urged on our camels and then turned into the defile of al-Mu‘tedel, in which we took our morning meal from 6.35 to 6.57. At 7.38 we passed between the two lofty pillars of Manâḥ ‘Alija (Fig. 37). At 8.08 the yellowish rocks of al-Bâza lay to the left, and in front of us the defiles of Umm ‘Âder on the right and Umm ‘Uwejder on the left could be seen. The mountain rampart that encloses the round basin of aṣ-Şlejbe on the east stands at least one hundred meters above the floor of the basin, but two-thirds of it is submerged in sand. At 9.10 we entered the defile of Umm ‘Âder. From 11.08 to 1.00 o’clock we rested among the rocks of ar-Râčbe. At noon another sand storm (‘ağāğ) rose from the west. We next crossed the defile Rî al-Mžeṣṣ, which extends from southeast to northwest and separates ar-Râčbe from al-Mrejčbe (Fig. 38). Ar-Râčbe is partly covered with lava. At 2.30 the white table mountain Kârt as-Sičč emerged to the northwest. From 2.32 to 2.49 we rested among the hills of Mrejčbet aš-Šihbi.

The bases of all the isolated mountains hereabouts are eroded by wind-blown sand to a height of three meters above the level of the sandy surfaces out of which they rise and to a depth of about four meters in the solid rock. At 3.03 we saw in front of us the extensive Mt. Šir‘ân with its innumerable sharp peaks and, to the northwest of it, the white hills of al-Lumejma.

At 4.02 we camped in a deep ravine. A sand storm raged over our heads, the gale lifting up the sand and carrying it to the east. The blown sand was densest about half a meter above the ground but reached to a height of about two meters only, above which level the air was nearly clear. The sand passed completely over the smaller ravines. Into the wider ones, however, and into those overlooked by higher rock walls part of the sand would fall, producing smooth, sloping drifts. The sand would also fall into the long ravines which extend from east to west. It did not, however, remain long lying in them, as the gale swept it over the ground to the eastward. The grains beat against the bases of the sandstone walls, always cutting deeper and deeper.

We hid in a ravine open to the north, where we were able to make a fire and bake bread. All of a sudden a stone fell, then another. ‘Ajša, our guide from the Ājde, called out his name and declared that we were under his protection; whereupon the invisible enemy made himself heard, pleading that he had taken us for robbers. ‘Ajša went to interview him and returned after half an hour with an eight months old kid which he had purchased for us. At night some wild beasts, sniffing blood, prowled about our camp and frightened our camels. Towards midnight the storm subsided and the wind veered away into the east. After the sand storm it grew very cold and the air became so clear that I was able to write by starlight.

On March 2 we set out at 3.38. At five o’clock the easternmost rock of Šir’ân was on our left and the westernmost of Umm Nežâje on our right. From 6.20 to 6.43 we took our morning meal. At eight o’clock the group of white mountains of az-Zmejħijjât rose on our left, with al-Rlâle to the north beyond them. As we were shivering with cold, we rested from 9.00 to 11.08 and cooked the meat purchased on the preceding day.

After the meal we dismissed ‘Ajša of the Ājde, our guide. As we did not trust him, we did not take the direction he recommended, but turned to the northeast towards the rain springs Temâjel ‘Areda, which we reached by 1.20. These springs lie in hollows in the débris covering the floor of the rocky basin into which run-off drains and is preserved under the detritus in the rocky bottom. At the springs there grow three palms. A similar round basin called ‘Arejda lies to the

south of the Temâjel ‘Areda⁷⁴ and is bordered by a number of white rocks to the east.

As we did not wish to clean the water holes at ‘Areda and wait till the water had settled, we proceeded to the south-



FIG. 36—Al-‘Ela’, the gardens.

southeast towards a rocky cliff some five hundred meters away, in which there is a large *žalta* (well). A wall of rock is here split by a deep fissure that narrows downwards and into which rain water drains from the whole northern portion of a dome-shaped rock. At the bottom of this fissure, about four meters above the base from which the rocky wall rises sheer, there opens a cavity three meters long, one meter wide, and upwards of two meters deep, in which the rain

⁷⁴ Jâkût, *Mu‘ğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 3, p. 638, gives the name al-‘Urada to a spring well belonging to the Beni Šahr clan of the Tajj tribe and lying between al-‘Ela’, Tejma, and Gafr ‘Aneze in a country full of hills and sand. — Our ‘Areda lies almost midway between al-‘Ela’ and Tejma. Gafr ‘Aneze coincides with the watering place of Wâkša, the property of the ‘Aneze tribe, fifty kilometers to the southeast of ‘Areda. The Beni Šahr now camp far away from here to the north, in the eastern part of the ancient Moab.

water collects and thus produces the *žalta*. 'Ali climbed up to the fissure, and we flung him a rope to the end of which we had tied a water bag. This he raised, filled with water, and carefully lowered.



FIG. 37—Manâh 'Alija from the east.

At 2.15 we continued our journey to the northeast and reached the valley of aš-Šoṭb⁷⁵ at 3.18.

The lofty cone of Ab-al-Mêh rose to the north, with four other similar cones beyond it. Southwest of these and north of 'Areda is a black tabular hill with the Žaltat al-Mağhûde (or Žaltat al-Mindassa) at its base. A group of hills known as as-Smûk runs to the northwest from the small rain well 'Oḳêlt as-Semk,⁷⁶ which lies to the northeast of the Ab-al-Mêh.

To the east of as-Smûk there are a number of hills called an-Naṣla, and to the north of these and of al-Ḥejrân rises the Kârt al-Mezarra, an extensive mesa; beyond stretches the plain of Mabna-l-Bejt. At 4.40 we saw rising above this plain the black mountain of al-Rnejm,⁷⁷ which is divided by the defile Rî' al-Mnêṣfe into two unequal parts. At the

⁷⁵ The poet Kutejjer mentions (al-Bekri, *Mu'ğam* [Wüstenfeld], p. 142) the localities of Šaṭb and Badbad.

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 523, states that Badbad is a well near Abân al-Abjad. — The Šaṭb of the poet Kutejjer may coincide with our aš-Šoṭb, as Kutejjer used to camp to the south of the oasis of Tejma.

⁷⁶ Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 140, states that Samk is a watering place south of the oasis of Tejma and also a well between Tejma and the desert of as-Samâwa, which belongs to the Kalb tribe. — It is very probable that the two watering places coincide with one another and that we must recognize in them our 'Oḳêlt as-Semk.

⁷⁷ Al-Rnejm may coincide with the hillock of Hadad to which Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 221, refers as a lofty peak near Tejma; Ibn as-Sikkî writes that it is a region belonging to the Kalb tribe.

northern end of the defile stands the reddish hill of al-Meḥaḡḡe, beyond which are the hillocks of al-Mḡenne. The plain from which these hillocks rise falls off northward into the basin in which the oasis of Tejma is situated. On the east this basin is enclosed by al-Hamâm and on the north by the heights of Abu Srejs, Munṭâr Beni ‘Atijje, and Ṭâr Tejma.



FIG. 38—Al-Mrejċbe from the west.

The last is skirted by the *še'ib* of Ġrajda, which begins far to the north-west under the name of Ummu Rta between Mts. al-Ṛorejra, Barîṭ as-Samar, Berkât al-Brêtijje, and al-Bijâzijje. Under the name of Umm Sella it turns southeast, separating the Żel' al-Badda and al-Farâwi from Mdej-sîsât and as-Sarâbiṭ. Farther down, the valley penetrates the hills of Ḥa-ṣât al-Kaniṣ; to the left it is joined by the *še'ib* of ar-Rahel, which issues from the Tell al-Ġerîṣ; and finally under the name Ġrajda it reaches the plain of al-Ṛarra, across which it gains the basin of Tejma.⁷⁸

The modern oasis of Tejma includes three districts: Sûḵ âl 'Alî, Sûḵ âl Mâzi, and Sûḵ âl Ḥamde. The head chief is a descendant of the Eben Rummân family.

To the east of Tejma extends the stony plain of al-Hûl, here and there buried in sand drifts. On the east this plain is defined by the sand hills of Ṭwejjel Sa'îd, Ṭe'es az-Zab', Ṭe'es Khejlân, and Ṭe'es al-Wuḥajjed. East of al-Rnejm the Nefûd reaches as far west as the hills of ar-Rba' and al-Ktejb, which enclose the plains of Mabna-l-Bejt and al-Howṭa on the north. East of the last named are the sand hills and plains of Ksûrijjet al-'Abd, aš-Šhajba, and ad-Daffâfijjât. The extensive plateau of al-Hawla south of the ad-Daffâfijjât hills is strewn with sand. South of this plateau stretches the eroded ridge of aš-Šnânijjât. The rocks of al-Ḥeġġerât, among which is a *ḥabra* of the same name, lay along our route to the north, and the oblong mesa of al-Barġa' extended to the south.

⁷⁸ See below, Appendix VI.

We searched for some depression in which we could build a fire, but in vain. At last we found a grove of *talh* trees where we pitched camp at 5.20. We had a bad night's rest, lying awake in fear that if we slept the Ājde might attack and slay us.

AŠ-ŠOTB TO RAŠSĀL

On March 3 we departed at 3.27. At four o'clock we crossed the *še'ib* of aš-Šotb and after 4.52 passed through the region of al-Heġêrât, a plain generally leveled by erosion but roughened with small crags. From 6.13 to 6.35 we took our breakfast, and the camels grazed on *hawdân*, *erbijjân*, *humbejz*, *meddêd*, *danabnâb*, *šilwa*, *čhejl*, and *jenem*. At 7.06 we again caught sight of al-Rnejm, now to the north-northwest, and at 7.20 the tract of Kârt al-Hejrân lay to the north. At 7.35 we traversed the *še'ib* of al-Ķaw, which terminates near the latter.

The low reddish hillocks of aš-Šnâniyyât rose to the northeast, and behind them there came into view the low tabular mesas of al-Hawla, which bound Mabna-l-Bejt on the southeast. At 8.10 a cold east wind sprang up. At 8.46 we saw between us and Mt. Bird ummu Kšejr the Ḥabra 'Etmân, to the east of which rose the red hillocks of Abu Ḥarka, among which lies the Ḥabra al-Btejn. At 9.08 the reddish dunes Tu'ûs ad-Daffâfiyyât emerged beyond the mesas of al-Hawla, and, a short distance in front of us, we saw the hill of al-Ḥabîb. At 11.40 we arrived at the table mountain of Sa'luw-wa, beyond which the violet Helwân loomed dark. The plants that grow in the country which we were traversing are *'alanda*, *tu'âm*, *ġamba*, *korzi*, *swajža*, *soboṭ*, *zamrân*, *'arfeġ*, *žetâde*, *metnân*, and *mti*.

We struck the tracks of a large number of riders. 'Ali feared that the Beni 'Atijje, enemies of the Fuḵara', had passed, for the tracks headed southeast. He also placed no confidence in the Fuḵara' clan, whom he considered false, and who, as he believed, rob even their best friends. The same, however, is said of the Weld Slejmân, and, indeed, I have heard even the Šammar spoken of similarly. Thus, for example, eight years previously two Singâra were escorting two rich merchants returning from Damascus to al-Ḳašim. Eben Duṛmi saw them as far as al-Ġowf, and the two Singâra

were to see them to ‘Anejza in al-Ḳaṣīm. The merchants were returning with the proceeds of two years of camel dealing. As the Singâra knew that they had gold, they murdered them in the Nefûd, slaughtered their camels, and burned the dead bodies, men and animals, and all they had, keeping only the gold for themselves. They discovered plenty of fuel in a *farše* pit, in which there were stems and branches of dry *raza* as thick as one’s arm. The money they took to the Šammar in Mesopotamia, to whom they emigrated. The relatives of the merchants made a search for the missing men and ascertained at Damascus that they had departed from there in the company of Eben Duṛmi. The latter informed them that he had seen the merchants safe and sound to al-Ġowf. The relatives continued their investigations and the emigration of the two Singâra became suspicious. Finally the Singâra were discovered in Mesopotamia and brought before their tribal judge (‘*arefa*’), who decided that they should go to al-‘Ela’ and lick a piece of red-hot iron. Terrified at this, they pleaded guilty. The gold was found hidden in the sand, and the relatives of the merchants received upwards of two hundred Turkish pounds in gold.

From 1.39 to 2.13 we rested in a small gorge. At 2.25 we attained the sharp crags of Ṛorejmîlât al-‘Abed (Cliffs of the Negro) (Fig. 39), which run out from the Nefûd. Al-‘Abed sits beside “his wife,” and around them huddle a crowd of “their children.” Seen from the north ‘Omejjed al-Bird suggests a seven-step pyramid or an old Babylonian temple with steps winding around it up to the top. At 4.30 we reached the defile of aš-Šerž,⁷⁹ through which the road passes across the Helwân.

The Helwân consists of a line of flat-topped coffee-colored ridges (Fig. 40) running first from northeast to southwest and then turning to the southeast. The Ḥbûb abu Šama, issuing from the sandy plains of al-Bwêza, az-Zab’, and Te’es al-‘Arîz, terminate at the northern edge of the Helwân. To the northeast of the Helwân the well of al-Ḥajza lies in a round sandy basin, and farther to the north-northeast of this lies another well, Ḥajzân; between these two wells and to the east of the former rise the sand hills of az-Zubrân, al-Ḥamîr, al-Miṣḥi, and al-Raža. East of the two last-named hills the Ḥabb aš-Šwâja runs from north to south, and north of its northernmost extremity slope the lofty sand hills of Sarmada.

‘Ali spoke of a raid which he had made with forty riders on camels and six horsemen against the Beli encamped in al-

⁷⁹ In my opinion aš-Šerž is identical with Šerğ, which is located by as-Sakûni (Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 274) within the territory of the Fezâra tribe, inasmuch as the Helwân actually lies in the former territory of that tribe.

Ġaw. They attacked a small camp and captured the flocks and five tents. However, before they had time to put the spoils on their camels, a much stronger band of raiders led by Abu Šâma came rushing down on them. All ʿAli's comrades fled, and his



FIG. 39—Rorejmîlât al-ʿAbed.

she-camel was slain. ʿAli hid among crags where he discovered rain water in a crevice. Two days passed, and the pangs of hunger drove him out of his hiding place. After a long search he observed some women who were picking grass for horses. His salutation was returned, and, thus encouraged, he begged for food. One of the women invited him to follow her into her tent in order that she might give him a meal. He obeyed and to his great astonishment found himself within the very same tent which two days previously he had struck and wished to load up as spoils. The mother of the head of the family, an elderly woman, recognized him and reproached him with the act, but the head of the family declared that he could not permit his wife's guest to suffer any harm. So he gave him food and then saw him as far as the station of al-Mu-ʿazzam, whence ʿAli returned home by way of Tejma.

ʿAli had acted as *ʿajn* (spy) in the raid on al-Ġaw. In war the *ʿajn* has the same duties as those of the *ḵallât* (scout) in peace. When a band of raiders, or a whole tribe, proceeds

on an expedition into the territory of an enemy, the commander despatches two or three spies whose duty it is to discover the best pastures, watering spots, and camping grounds. Such a spy is called ‘*ajn*, not *kallât* (scout).



FIG. 40—Helwân from the west.

At 5.20 we attained the highest point in the defile of aš-Šerž (Fig. 41) and at 5.35 made camp to the right of the road, behind a few crags large enough to screen both our fire and the light of the lanterns required in determining the latitude.

On March 4 at 3.24 we struck out to the east. At five o'clock the hills of al-Mtallat lay to the left of the road, the extensive hillocks of as-Slejjel and of at-Ṭurķi to the south, and the hill of Zbej, half-submerged in sand, to the northeast. At 5.40 the hillocks of Abu Mrêr and al-‘Azâmijjât came into view to the south. North of these there stretches the stony plain of at-Ṭarâjef, a favorite camping ground of the Weld Slejmân during the rainy season, when the ‘Aķejl come to buy camels. When the ‘Aķejl come to the Šammar they employ many servants and herdsmen. Sometimes they put up their own tents, but not unfrequently they lodge under the tent of some Bedouin. If the Bedouin also provides them with board, he receives one *meġġidijje* (90 cents) on each camel purchased.

If they consume their own stores, they pay for protection only one *rejāl abu šūše* (Maria Theresa dollar, = 45 cents) on each camel purchased. The animals are bought at four to eleven Turkish pounds (\$18.00-49.50); more the 'Aḳejl refuse to pay.

At 6.10 the dunes of the Ṭe'es al-Mišḥi came into view, shining in the north, with the hill of al-Ṛāza to the south-west of them. From 6.15 to 6.43 our camels grazed. We traversed al-Bḳej'a, a stony plain abundantly covered with sand on which *saḥam*, *naṣi*, and *ṣfār* grow. The last resembles *naṣi*, differing in being very prickly to the touch, whereas *naṣi* is smooth. Stunted *arṭa* and 'arfeḡ also grow here.

Nāzel spoke of a poet and hero whose name was Šāješ and who was descended from the family of Selḡ, subject to Chief Eben Rmāl of the Singāra. As is the case with the Singāra in general, Šāješ did not bear any affection for the family of Eben Rašid. He declined allegiance to Prince 'Abdal-'aziz; when the latter began to persecute him, Šāješ declared war on him, attacked his herds of camels, drove them away, and captured six of his mares which were pasturing near al-Ġetāmijje tended by Eben Rašid's slaves. When the prince planned to go on a raid against him, Šāješ, accompanied by a few comrades, took refuge with the Beni Ṣaḥr. His heart, however, stayed behind with his sweetheart, whose beauty he celebrated in songs. Her name was Balha. Her father, Ṭu'ejs eben Sirḥân, was a resident of the settlement of al-Ḳâra, east of al-Ġowf. Prince 'Abdal-'aziz, knowing of Šāješ's love, enjoined ten of his slaves to lie in wait for him in al-Ḳâra. Now it came to pass that Balha and her brother were tending a flock of sheep near al-Mwejsen. Suddenly she descried from afar two riders approaching her native settlement. On closer examination it seemed to her that one of them looked much like Šāješ. So she climbed a hill and signalled to the riders, but they failed to observe her. Then she commissioned her little brother to go and give them warning. He ran shouting at them till they had observed him. It was Šāješ and his friend. However, they had hardly reached the maiden when the slaves, who had also heard the boy's shouting, broke out of the settlement and attacked Šāješ. After he had slain four of them, he was captured by the rest, fettered, and cast into prison in al-Ġowf. A messenger was sent to the prince to learn how the prisoner was to be disposed of. The prince decided that he was to be executed. The messenger departed. After an hour,

however, the prince felt compassion for the lad and sent another messenger with orders to bring Šâješ before him. But Allâh decreed that the life of the poet should not be preserved, and when the second messenger arrived at the well of al-Ġerâwi,



FIG. 41—In the defile of aš-Šerž.

which lies not far from al-Ġowf, Šâješ had already been executed in the Mâred.

It was only on rare occasions that a prince of the house of Eben Rašîd passed a sentence of death. When he concluded that a person merited death, he beckoned, and a slave decapitated the guilty man on the spot. The minister Sa‘ûd and also ‘Eḳâb eben ‘Eġel, the father-in-law of the prince, issued orders for executions. All the descendants of the family of Eben Rašîd are known for their cruelty and love of women. Particularly notorious in this respect was Mâġed, son of ‘Obejd. He left in peace no woman distinguished for her beauty, exterminating all who stood in his way.

At eight o’clock the northernmost portion of ‘Ernân (Fig. 42), known as az-Zerw, and the Ķwêrât al-Bkarât,⁸⁰ which is almost completely covered with sand, came into view.

⁸⁰ Jâkût, *Mu‘ġam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 1, p. 705, records that al-Bakra is a well of the Beni Dwejbe of the ad-Debâb tribe; in its neighborhood are the black al-Bakarât hills. As reference he gives Imrulkajs, the poet, who mentions al-Bakarât, ‘Arema and the Burkat al-‘Ejarât as camping grounds. — Imrulkajs camped for a considerable time on the southern confines of the Nefûd, and hence we may identify his al-Bakarât with our Ķwêrât al-Bkarât.

From 10.05 to 11.32 we took our lunch. In the environs of the Ḥabb aš-Šwâja the Nefûd is white and barren. Nâzel asserted that the second half of *šta* (the rainy season) terminated at noon on that particular day and *rabî*⁸¹ proper commenced. At 2.14 'Ali



FIG. 42—'Ernân and Abu Mřer from the west.

pointed out the sandy Sarmada hills to the north, beyond which lie the large hollows *Ḳa'ar al-Amřâr*, from which a narrow *ḥabb* leads to the hollow of al-Ḥamra' and thence southeast to the watering place *Ḳulbân al-Kwâċbe*. The latter wells now belong to the family of *Âl 'Awâġi*, and the *Kwâċbe* come to them only when on a raid. We were now approaching the northern part of 'Ernân, in the environs of which the *Šlejb âl Sa'ad* were camping. Five years previously in 'Ernân they had helped 'Alejjân, brother of 'Ali, our guide, dig for the camel merchant Muḥammad al-Ḥassûn some red clay, which Muḥammad afterwards sent to Damascus for examination. At four o'clock we arrived at the defile between *az-Zerw* on the left and *aṭ-Trâċ* on the right, and again caught a glimpse of the al-Misma' mountains (Fig. 43), behind which stretch the pastures of the *Šammar*. Full of joy, Nâzel exclaimed: "Reach us, O Misma', thy hand! (*midd jadak, midd jadak!*)" He would have al-Misma' draw us to itself as quickly as possible, that we might return to his homeland. At 4.52 we found ourselves at the eastern end of the defile. To the right we saw the scattered lumps of lava with which the flat-topped hill of al-Mnêsfe was almost completely covered. The eastern portion of al-Mnêsfe borders on the *še'ib* of *as-Sâžje*, which rises at the *Ḥamd wa Ḥamde* hills, runs between *aṭ-Trâċ* and al-Mnêsfe on the west and *ad-Dbejbijje* on the east, and flows into the depression of *Ṛassâl*⁸²

Indeed, Jâkût, *op. cit.*, p. 93, states that al-Bakarât is the name of some isolated hills in the desert. 'Areme may be a poetical transcription of al-'Orejme, which is the name of the country between the *Eġa'* and al-Misma' mountains; the *Burġat al-'Ejarât* suggests the *Ġâl 'Ajjâr* to the east of the *Eġa'*.

⁸¹ See above, p. 7.

⁸² The name *Ṛassâl* suggests the mountain of *Rasal* which, according to Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 802, is one march from *Laflaf* by the road from the oasis of *Tejma* to the two mountain ranges of the *Tajj* tribe. Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 362, also mentions *Laflaf* as a mountain.

(Fig. 44), filling in a rain pond of the same name and terminating at the ẖulbân al-Kwâċbe.

Along the eastern border of the depression of Rassâl on the confines of the sandy plains of al-‘Îd and Ġer‘ ad-Dîb there are the following wells: to the south of the Kârt ad-Dbejbijje, at-Tlejtâwât, and to the north, al-Mrara. North of al-Mrara are the rain ponds of al-Bawlijjât, close by which rise the rocks of al-Mšejjît and north of which spread the dunes of Kĥejlân. Northeast of the ẖulbân al-Kwâċbe the well of Farĥa lies in the sands, and north of this the sand forms the dunes of Umm Sa‘ejfiž, al-Luĥajjed, and al-Metjâha. Northeast of these the Ĥbûb ‘Eržân run to the southeast towards the al-Misma’ mountains and define on the south the sandy plains of al-‘Âdrijje, above which tower the rocks of al-‘Awġa.

At 4.15 we camped in a small gully to the left of the road and determined the latitude.

RARÂMÎL RASSÂL TO THE UMMU RĠÂM HILLS

On March 5 we departed at 3.25. At five o’clock we reached the še‘îb of as-Sâžje and at 5.50 the cliffs Rarâmîl Rassâl, which bound the Ĥabra Rassâl on the east. We had a glorious view of the al-Misma’ mountains as the beams of the rising sun pierced through their many defiles and notches. At 6.10 al-Bawlijjât lay to our left, and to our right there loomed three rocks suggestive of powerful castles. In a small valley close by them there are ancient wells which had been reopened a short time before by the Âl Mrejĥem. These wells are about thirty-five *bâ‘* (c. 70 m.) in depth, but the water tastes somewhat bitter. South of the Nefûd there are many such choked-up wells, a fact which shows that this region was formerly owned by tribes who took greater care to assure their daily bread than the present inhabitants. It is difficult to determine which tribes they were, as both clans and tribes constantly shift their camping grounds.

We wished to make a halt, but no pasturage was to be seen until eight o’clock, when we came across some perennials on which our camels grazed till 8.25.

We were passing through a white and barren arm of the Nefûd where only *‘alanda* and *korzi* showed here and there. The southern border (*luruf*) of the Nefûd was covered with black shingle resembling coal cinders. The dark violet hillocks of al-Meleĥijje came into view to the south beyond the border of the Nefûd. By 9.30 we were passing through the sandy tract of Ġer‘ ad-Dîb, destitute of any vegetation. At eleven

o'clock the dunes of Umm Sa'ejfiž came into view to the north-northwest. At the foot of these the well of Farḥa lies in a deep pit which communicates with the hollows of al-Mûzi. The passage across the sands of Ġer' ad-Dîb was very difficult on account of numerous hollows that have been formed by the wind and cannot always be avoided; consequently we had to lead our camels down the slopes. The southeasterly corner of such a hollow (*ka'ara*) is generally its lowest point, the highest sand wall usually rising at the west. From 11.26 to 12.19 we took our lunch and rested between the hollows of al-Mûzi and al-Razb.

At 1.55 we entered the defile of al-Ârziĵje and at 2.20 left the road and made a stop in the gorge of al-Razb, in the side of which we discovered a *žalta* full of rain water (Fig. 45). Around the *žalta* there were a few inscriptions in Tamûd, drawings of antelopes and of a man aiming with a bow at two lions with long tails. Another similar *žalta*, Žaltat al-Ĥrâtân, lies to the south. At 3.16 we had attained the highest point (1020 m.) of the defile. The precipitous walls of as-Saṭiḥa towered over our heads to the height of at least eighty meters. Far to the east-southeast we saw the elongated ridge of Mtâle', past which we had come on our way to al-'Ela' a fortnight earlier. 'Ali and Nâzel exclaimed: "Reach thy hand! (*midd jadak!*)" The immense basin of al-Mṭerde, out of which tower a great number of black crags (Fig. 46), unfolded itself in front of us. At 4.34 we camped at the foot of Mt. al-Ĥanâder. The isolated hill of al-Âl rose to the north, beyond which the rain wells of al-Kalbe are situated, opposite Mt. aš-Šhajje. The *habb* of al-Ĥaliže extends from the wells of al-Kalbe to the northeast; near its lower end below the cliffs Rarmûl al-'Wejd it contains the wells of al-'Wejd. To the north of the wells the sand desert of al-Baḥbûḥ unfolds, with the *nawâzi* of al-Banâja, al-Barša, and aḡ-Zrejbin.

On March 6 we departed at 3.18. A cold northwest wind blew. At 5.40 we arrived at the Fardet aš-Šemûs.⁸³

⁸³ Labîd, the poet, mentions Farde, a camping ground (*Mu'allakât* [Nöldeke], p. 58).

In 631 A.D. the delegates of the Ṭajj tribe led by the chief Zejd al-Ĥejl, who had embraced Islam, came to Mohammed. The Prophet changed the chief's name to Zejd al-Ĥejr and gave him the settlement of Fejd in fief. At the same time he gave him two plots of land, confirming the conveyance in a special deed. As soon as he had entered Neġd on his way home, Zejd was seized with a fever, of which he died at the well of Farde. (Aṭ-Ṭabari, *Ta'riḥ* [De Goeje], Ser. 1, p. 1747.)

Nasr (Jākût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 871) states that Farde, or Fardet aš-Šemûs, is either a mountain within the territory of the Ṭajj tribe or a watering place belonging to the Ġarm clan in the territory of the Ṭajj tribe, and it is said that the grave of Zejd al-Ĥejl was shown there. — The Ġarm clan had their camps west of the Eġa' mountains.

At 6.10 the black rocks of ẖarmûl al-‘Wejd came into view to the north-northwest beyond the Fardet an-Nazîm. From 6.30 to 6.58 our camels grazed in the vicinity of al-Ḥnejşer. At 7.10 we saw the rocks of al-Leġât to the north-



FIG. 43—Al-Misma’ from the west.

northwest, as-Sa‘da to the north, and to the east of as-Sa‘da the group of the Ḥebrân with the rocks of al-Ġišş (among which are the watering places of al-Ġišş and an-Nḥêlât), an-Nezâwi (with the wells of Šar’a and as-Swejż), and Umm al-Arsân (with a *žalta*). The water of Šar’a in the southeastern corner of an-Nezâwi forms a thin streamlet which issues from the face of a rock and becomes lost in a narrow fissure. As it is not accessible by climbing, the Bedouins wrap a long pole or a pike in some article of clothing; this they raise up to the water, which then flows down the cloth. In this way they can fill two fairly large bags in one day. Or, again, they secure the *sifra* (or pouch used by raiders to hold water) to the top of a pike, hoist it under the streamlet, and pour the water thus caught into a skin bag. At 7.45 we saw the black rocks of Šezâz far to the north bordering the shining plain of az-Zrejbin.

We encountered two of Eben Rašîd’s soldiers, who were riding westward with the pleasant tidings that Eben Rašîd

had defeated the Męejr and captured several herds of their camels. Every Bedouin who was subject to, or depended on, Eben Raříd had to extend his aid to men traveling with good tidings in order to expedite their journey as much as possible.



FIG. 44—The depression of Rassál.

He had to give them enough to eat and drink and to see them to the nearest camp by the shortest and best route. When approaching the camp the messengers would begin to sing and sometimes to discharge a rifle, and then would proceed to the tent of the chief, where they delivered their good news. When in a settlement they would put up in the house of the chief, who was obliged to board them and present them either with fine clothes or with gold. Should any person fail to bestow a gift on a messenger who brings good tidings, he thus indicates that he is angry with the sender of the messenger.

A mercenary soldier of Eben Rašîd was called *zḵurti*. Prince Muḥammad had kept over four hundred such mercenaries, but the prince at the time of our expedition kept hardly sixty. They were sons either of Bedouins or of settlers. Eben Rašîd



FIG. 45—Žalt al-Ṛaḏb.

provided each of them with a riding camel and a weapon, but the mercenary was obliged to return both if he gave up the service. They were not allowed to marry and were boarded by Eben Rašîd in Hâjel, where they were billeted in coffee houses. When Eben Rašîd had no funds, their pay was stopped and all they had to depend on was spoils and extortion. Not infrequently the members of the Eben Rašîd house took even their spoils away from them.

The Singâra reproached Eben Rašîd with perfidy and self-

ishness. They said of him that he turned the services of his Bedouins only to his own account and made raids on them when they were reluctant to enter his service. Thus, for example, four years previously he had fallen on the Ġa'āfra, in spite of their having contributed the *zeka* tax, and had captured more than half their camels. About one year before our visit, at the head of his slaves he attacked the Singāra near al-Ḥajjānījje and robbed them of twelve tents. The Singāra pursued him and captured all the she-camels of his minister Zāmel eben Subhān. The Singāra are not so strong in numbers as the 'Abde, but they are more courageous and independent than any other of the Šammar tribes.

HILLS OF UMMU RĠĀM TO AL-ḤALL ROAD NORTH OF ḤĀJEL

At 8.15 we reached the hills of Ummu Rġām.

The hill of al-Marāṭṭ, in which there is a *žalta*, rises to the northeast of the Ḥebrān range. The Ḥabb al-Mḥaffar extends from al-Marāṭṭ south-east almost as far as the settlement of aṭ-Twejje. This *ḥabb* is bordered on the north by the hills of al-Ḥmejmīs and on the south by the lofty al-Ḥirġ, which trends southwards. The dunes of Rannām north of al-Marāṭṭ have not yet overwhelmed the hills of al-Ešéheb, beyond which to the northeast there appear like mushrooms the red domes of al-Cēmin and al-Marbūb, at the base of which is the well of al-Marbūb. Still farther away in the same direction the summit of the hill of Umm Senmān looms black on the red sand. This summit is a landmark for the oasis of Ġubba⁸⁴ on the route from Dūmat al-Ġandalijje to Ḥājel.

Southeast of the hills of Ummu Rġām the hillocks of as-Sajjerīn form the eastern border of a basin in which there are the watering places of ar-Rummāde and al-Ḥtēle. The tract of country extending from the Fardet aš-Šemūs and Bēza Neṭīl as far as the Eġa' mountains and the settlement of Ġubba is called al-Rūṭa.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ The oasis of Ġubba was known to early writers.

Al-Bekri, *Muġam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 306, states that the sand desert of Ḥubba belonged at one time to the Kalb tribe and in his time to the Tajj tribe. Ḥubba lies within the Kalb territory and is mentioned, together with Šerġ and Du Kihāf, by Bišr ibn Abi Ḥāzem. According to others cited by al-Bekri Ḥubba was situated within the territory of the Tajj tribe, for an-Namir, the poet, describes Ḥubba in the account of his march from al-'Aduww towards the Aġa' mountains. —

"Ḥubba" must be a wrong transcription of "Ġubba," as all the aforementioned points lie within the Tajj territory. Šerġ coincides with the Zeliḥ Šerġ and Du Kihāf with ač-Chafe. Our oasis of Ġubba is approached by the very road along which the poet an-Namir proceeded, for he had started from al-'Aduww, which is identical with the modern oasis of al-'Edwa, on the road from ač-Chafe to Dūmat al-Ġandalijje.

Jākūt, *Muġam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 400, following Našr, locates the sand desert of Ḥubba in Neġd.

⁸⁵ Našr (*ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 825) states that al-Rūṭa is a country belonging to the Beni Lām clan of the Tajj tribe within the Tajj territory near the Šubḥ mountains, which are the property of the Beni Fezāra. In this country there are the wells of ar-Reda' and al-Melūḥa, the property of the Beni 'Amer of the Tajj tribe. — It is interesting to note that as late as the middle of the twelfth century the Beni Lām had camps in al-Rūṭa.

At 8.20 the wind shifted towards the northeast and a moment later to the east-southeast, from which point it blew fairly violently.

In spite of being very lean our camels stepped forward lustily. No mare can pace so regularly or so long, or can



FIG. 46—Basin of al-Mîrde.

maintain such speed if the march be extended. Nâzel told us that once when he was pursued by enemies he started before sunrise from the Raḍîr al-Ḥejl, which lies to the north-northeast of the Umm Wu‘âl in al-Ḥôr, and reached the Ġubb Duḥejne after sunset, a distance exceeding three hundred kilometers. Prince ‘Abdal‘azîz eben Rašîd despatched a messenger mounted on a camel from the watering place Ġaw Jâṭob to the town of Brejda in al-Ḳašîm. The messenger departed after the prayer of *al-fağr* had been said—that is, just before sunrise. After the sunset of the very same day the messenger arrived at Brejda, spent the night there, departed again on the following morning, and appeared before his prince just after the latter had said the prayer of *al-morreb* (about sunset). ‘Abdal‘azîz turned upon him, asking him why he had not yet left for Brejda, and then heaped praises on him when he heard that the messenger was already back.

From 9.56 to 10.55 we rested northwest of the watering place of as-Sâlmî (or ar-Rummâde). The wells are hardly two

meters deep and have a constant supply of water, such wells being called *ḥariže*. At 12.40 the wind abated. From 1.27 to 1.48 our camels grazed. At four o'clock the low, violet — indeed almost black — hill of Mtâle' lay due south, the sand-covered al-Ḥmejmīs rose to the north, al-Ḥirġ, nearly scarlet, to the northeast, and the coffee-colored ar-Rḥâm to the east. At 5.15 we made camp north of the springs of al-Bowbehijje; then we ascended a dune and sketched the surrounding country.

On March 7 we started at 3.18. At 4.35 we were passing the springs of an-Nwê'ir south of the hill of al-Ḥirġ. From 5.57 to 6.15 we rested between ar-Rḥâm⁸⁶ and Umm 'Edlên.

At this place our guide, 'Ali, left us to return to his tribe. At eight o'clock we arrived at the hamlet of at-Ṭwejje, which lies in a basin surrounded by the sands and comprises eight huts, about twenty palms, and a few *eṭel* trees. The inhabitants hid before us, for they feared that we might request their hospitality. Their chief, Ḥaġġâġ eben Mirmiš, was just drawing water for his palms.

Above the sands to the southeast rose the hills of aš-Šorfe and Danab 'Asâb, beyond which there came into view the mound of al-Akra', with the truncated cone of Sâk to the north of it. The group of the brown hillocks of an-Nsâb nestled to the southeast, and beyond them the peaks of Nâmer, al-Mestah, and Ḥamra in the Eġa' range loomed black. To the northeast the hills of az-Zlû' emerged, with the low al-Ḥašab lying to the south of them. 'Alanda — or, as Nâzel called it, 'adâm — thrives abundantly in the sand around at-Ṭwejje.

From 1.20 to 2.40 we lunched. Our way lay across al-Ġmejma, a tongue of the Nefûd in which there were many hollows, or *ka'ar*, running from northwest to southeast. At 2.40 the rocks of al-Ḥašab lay to our right, those of az-Zlû' to our left, and those of az-Zabla in front of us. At 3.10 we sighted the black hill of al-Rôṭa rising above the sand to the north-northwest. Again and again our camels sank into the sand, which was pitted with countless hollows, large and small, that made marching extremely difficult. At 4.48 we descended into a stony basin where we pitched our camp at 5.04 southwest of the wells of al-Ḥfêr, by which there was a small field of barley and wheat. The steep sand wall of Ġer' ad-Drejbsi overlooks the well.

⁸⁶ Jākūt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 769, states that Ruḥâm is either a locality in the mountains of the Tajj tribe or a place in the Heġâz. — Our ar-Rḥâm lies on the route from the Eġa' (i. e. one of the mountain ranges belonging to the Tajj tribe) to the Heġâz.

On March 8 we set out at 3.15 through the sands of ad-Drejbsi and the ‘Erž Hâmer. At 5.25 we descended from the sands to the Ḥabra as-Sîr, where the *še’ib* of aš-Šût and ravines issuing from ar-Rṣofa, al-Ḥwêz, and al-‘Erzîjje—



FIG. 47—The northwest spur of Eġa’ from the northeast.

mountains of the Eġa’ range—terminate. Near the outlet of aš-Šût we saw Mt. ad-Drejf (Fig. 47), where there are luxuriant palm trees growing in a cove in the face of the rocky mountain wall. We were now passing through the plain of al-‘Akejfa towards the hillocks of an-Nhâde, which are crossed by the *še’ib* of Twâren. This *še’ib* ends in the depression of al-‘Akejfa. At its head there are wells, by which barley is sown. From 5.55 to 6.25 we rested among tall *rimt* bushes. The *obêrež* (small rock partly covered with sand) of Kna’, north-east of which lies the settlement of Kna’, rose into view north-northeast of us. Farther to the north-northeast was to be seen another *obêrež*, which overlooks the hamlet of Umm al-Ḳulbân. The eight huts of this hamlet belonged to Eben Rašîd, who, with Fakhâd al-Ḳfê’i as supervisor, used to rear mares there. From 8.20 to 9.23 our camels grazed.

The black hills of az-Zabla and al-M‘ajj in the Nefûd rose into view to the north-northwest. West of them and northwest of al-Ḥfêr the wells of ar-Rbejde and al-Mrêrân lie in the sand. Both the dark rocks of al-

Rôta and Umm Senmân overlooking the long dunes Flûk as-Sejf could be seen. The dunes of al-Klejbijje, which lie between az-Zabla and Kna', appeared shining, and to the northeast beyond them ar-Rawwāj and al-Lben came into view, the last-named hill bounding the stony plain of ar-Rakke to the west. Southward and eastward this plain extends as far as the lofty hills of al-Žâ'ed, al-Ĥrêrât, and al-Ktejfi. North of the plain and of al-Ktejfi the hills of aṭ-Ṭwâl and az-Zellûma rise from the sandy Flûk as-Sejf. Nearer at hand, north of where we were and east of an-Nhâde, the upland of as-Sa'ede merges into the plain of at-Trubijje, the eastern side of which, in turn, adjoins the plain of al-Lžât. In at-Trubijje terminates the *še'ib* of as-Shabarân, which comes from Mt. al-Far' to the south in the Eġa' range. Its lower course forms a basin in which lie the palm plantations of al-Āġze, al-Morfelijje, and Raḷḷala. On the north the basin is enclosed by the hillocks of as-Sifen, on the west by the spurs of al-Ērzijje, on the south by the ridge of al-Madfa'a, and on the east by the gloomy walls of ar-Ra'êla.

At 9.37 we crossed the *še'ib* of Twâren, which is overgrown with *ṭalḥ* trees and *ʿabejtrân* shrubs. The sand hills Ṭu'ûs al-Lben shone pale red to the north-northeast. Though Nâzel pronounced this name "al-Benn," he explained it as "al-Lben," *leben* meaning milk. At 10.05 the black walls of ar-Ra'êla came into view to the southeast, with the low rocks of as-Sifen rising to the northwest of them. North-northeast of us the rocky group of aṭ-Ṭwâl was coming ever more distinctly into view. The highest rock of this group lies to the west and is called az-Zellûma, al-Ktejfi being a table-shaped hill to the south. At 10.25 we crossed the *še'ib* of Šhabarân, in which palms are cultivated. At eleven o'clock we saw the extensive palm grove of Raḷḷala⁸⁷ to the south, the property of the Zmejî and ʿAṭa, who, however, merely take charge of the pollination when the palms are in blossom and attend to the trees when the fruit is ripe. No irrigation is required, as the roots draw ground water. Such palms are called *hamlân*. Northeast of the palms deep fis-sures known as Žlât as-Sifl, which retain rain water all the year round, are to be found in the rocky mountain walls.

At 11.25 we passed through a narrow defile. To the northeast the hill of al-Žâ'ed came into sight with the ridge of hills known as as-Šabrawât and al-Ġilf rising beyond it and extending from northwest to southeast. At 11.52 the hillock group of al-Ĥomejme, with five wells of the same name at its base, rose into view south of al-Ġilf. From 12.00 to 12.25

⁸⁷ Jâkût, *Mu'ġam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, pp. 883 f.; Vol. 3, p. 808, and Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *Marâšid* (Juynboll), Vol. 1, p. 495, employ al-Raḷḷala as the name for gorges that issue from the lofty black Mt. ar-Rajjân in the Aġa' mountains. — Mt. ar-Rajjân is the present ar-Ra'êla in the Eġa' range.

we rested by the mesas of al-Mderîre. The rolling lands of al-Birte and al-Ġa‘êfnijje, on which *rimt* thrives, opened to the east, and the low rocks of Merwân were grouped to the southeast.

AL-ĤALL ROAD TO WELLS OF AL-ĤOMEJME

At 12.40 we entered al-Ĥall, the road leading from al-Ġowf (or Dûmat al-Ġandallijje) to Ĥâjel through the settlement of Ġubba. At 2.15 Nâzel indicated the watering place of al-Rîne in a small ravine to the west. At 2.22 we arrived at a parting of the roads. From here one road leads southwards to Ĥâjel through the *še‘ibân* of an-Naġbên, al-‘Ala°, al-Merwât, and al-Mušamraġa, along the base of Mts. ar-Ra‘êla, al-Ṛurejje, and al-Mešâr, and through the hills of al-Maslûġ, al-Ṛubrân, al-Heġeş, and Ummu Rkâb. The other road runs to the southeast towards the settlement of al-Wużîd, where there are some thirty houses subject to Chief Fahad eben Rabî’a of the ‘Abde. At this point the road turns southwards and, skirting the hill of al-Ġwêṣ’e, connects up with the new Pilgrim Road which enters Ĥâjel through the as-Swêfle suburb. This new road runs southwestward into the quarter of Ĥâjel known as the Sûġ al-‘Abîd, forming a broad street that passes from northeast to southwest through the city, dividing it into the new town and old town: the new part lies to the northwest and the old part to the southeast. Eben Rašîd and his slaves lived in the new town.

The settlement of al-Laġîta⁸⁸ lies to the northwest of al-Wużîd in a basin bounded by rocks on the south, west, and north, and comprises twenty houses, almost all of which were the property of the *şujûġ*, i. e. the Eben Rašîd family.

We were now north of al-Laġîta on our way to the settlement of al-Ġeġâmiijje, where we intended to stay some hours. Knowing that our camels would find no pasture there, we rested from 3.30 to 5.29 in order that they might graze, and in the meantime we mapped the surrounding country. At 6.34 we reached al-Ġeġâmiijje and, having made camp by a modest field sown with barley, we determined the latitude.

Early in the morning of March 9, Nâzel made a trip to Ĥâjel. He wished to buy some shirtings for his mother, wife,

⁸⁸ Jâġût, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 765, mentions the well and the settlement of al-Laġîta, or al-Buwêra, at the base of the Aġa’ mountains. — Our settlement of al-Laġîta lies on the northeastern fringes of the Eġa’ range.

and daughter, to get some coffee for himself, and to learn the latest news. We were engaged in cartographical studies pending his return. The settlement of al-Ġetârijje (Figs. 48, 49, 50) is also the property of the kindred of Eben Rašîd



FIG. 48—Al-Ġetârijje, from the north.

family, whose camels range about the surrounding pastures. The twenty-five houses and the palms belong to the prince, whose slave Šerîde âl Frejḥ was the administrator. This slave was a relative of the standard bearer ʿAbdallâh, known from the preceding chapters. The settlement is subject to Chief Nâşer al-Bâjeḥ. The varieties of date cultivated are *swêrijje*, *ḥamra*, *ḥelwa*, and *môḥa*. In a fertile year one palm yields three camel loads.

The water required for irrigation is raised from wells (Figs. 51, 52, 53) by camel power. A trench (*meġarr*) about three meters wide is dug away from the well in such a way that its bottom is highest at the well. The trench is generally as long as the well is deep. From very deep wells the water is raised by two camels. One end of a long, heavy rope (*rša*) is secured to their saddles, and at the other end is tied a capacious leather bucket, which usually consists of the complete hide of a large he-goat. At the rump end the bucket is open (*kubbe*) but at the neck only a small aperture (*kumm*) is

left. Both at the wide and narrow openings the skin is hemmed (*nidda*). A cord (*mḵâṭ*) is fastened to the narrow opening (*kumm*) by means of a thong (*šer‘a*). The hind and forelegs are cut off and the openings sewn up. At the *ḵubbe*,



FIG. 49—Al-Ġetâmiġje, *etel* trees.

or larger of the two openings that are left, the skin is tied by means of *uḍeme*, or strings made of palm pith, to two crossed sticks (*‘arâḷi*), at the intersection of which the long, heavy rope (*ršā*) is secured by means of a stout wooden pin (*truba*). The *ršā* rope moves over a roller (*maḥḥâle*), the cord (*mḵâṭ*) running over a less elevated roller (*ad-ḍerrîġe*). When the bucket is lowered into the water, the camel stands close to the well and the driver moves the *mḵâṭ* so that the skin may be completely filled. Then he drives the camel down the trench, holding the *mḵâṭ* taut in his hand. The moment the bucket is raised entirely out of the well, the driver checks the camel and slackens up on the *mḵâṭ*. Thus the smaller aperture (*kumm*), that has so far been held above the larger opening (*ḵubbe*), falls and the water is emptied into a small trough (*meli*), down which it flows into a reservoir (*maḵâm*), whence it is distributed through the garden by drains.

Nâzel returned after two o'clock. At 3.32 we departed from al-Ġetâmiġje and made camp on the knolls of as-Shawe

at 4.15. The camels were ravenous, and we wished to ascertain the exact relation of the various hills.

In the evening Nâzel gave an account of his visit to Ḥâjel. He had passed through the settlement of an-Nêsijje, which constitutes the northeastern portion of al-Wuḏîd, and arrived at the gate of Ḥâjel, which was still closed. In 1910 a high wall of adobe bricks was built surrounding the town. Through this wall there were only four gateways: one on the south, through which ran the road to the settlements of al-Ḳfâr and Ḳaṣr ʿAṣrawât (or al-Ḳaṣr); one on the west leading to the ravine of al-ʿOkde (or al-ʿAḳde); one on the north facing the settlement of al-Wuḏîd; and one on the east leading to the settlement of Baḳʿa. Zâmel eben Subhân, the minister, feared a nocturnal assault from the adherents of the members of the ruling family who were living with Eben Saʿûd, should any one of them succeed in entering the town unobserved.

The gatekeepers brought Nâzel before Saʿîd, the slave appointed to act on behalf of the prince, and ʿAli, the brother of the minister, who bitterly reproached him with having brought me from al-ʿEla. In Ḥâjel they had already known that the minister Saʿûd had promised a generous reward to any one who would first report my death. As to the prince, they told Nâzel that he had been very successful, having gained a new victory over Eben Saʿûd and seized almost the whole of al-Ḳaṣîm. However, they were not pleased with the Singâra and ʿAbde, who had deserted the prince a few days previously without having given any explanation and had made off to their respective homelands.

On March 10 we set out at 3.15 through the hillocks of ad-Deffâfât to the plain of al-Ġaʿêfnijje. No wind stirred.

At 5.50 Nâzel indicated the rain well Temîlet Bâʿûr to the southeast.

This well lies in the *šeʿib* of aṣ-Šeḏîḏ, which heads in the hills of aṣ-Ṣandûḳ and al-Ḥaṣâniyye, skirts the rocks of aṣ-Ṣaʿlika, and at the hill of al-Aslâf is joined by the *šeʿib* of Ḥâjel. To the northwest, above the plain of al-Birṭe, rose the high hill of al-Žâʿed, northeast of which the rocks of al-Ḥrêrât were visible, with the group of at-Twâl northwest of them and east of at-Twâl the hills of aṣ-Ṣabrawât, covered with sand to a considerable depth. The hills of aṣ-Ṣabrawât are separated by the defile Rîʿ Eben Ṣallâl from the hillocks of al-Ġilf to the southeast. Still farther south-southeast the hill groups of al-Ḥomejme and al-Ġasm are divided by the notch of al-Maʿez from al-Ġilf. At the southern foot of al-Ḥomejme lie wells of the same name, south of which the elevation of al-Ḥlêle came into view. Between the last named and al-Aslâf the lower course of the

še'ib of Hâjel, here known as aš-Šežiž, winds its way eastwards to the salt marsh of Baḳ'a', in which it is lost. On the south it is bordered by the knolls of ar-Rmejmintên and the lofty tabular hill of al-Židr; on the north by a long ridge of saddle-shaped hills known as al-Mellôtijjât. South of the last named and east of al-Židr the *še'ib* of aš-Šežiž fills the large



FIG. 50—Al-Ġetâmiġje, palms.

pool of as-Saffâke. Farther south the pyramidal al-Ġildijje forms a landmark. To the northeast the sands of the Nefûd, which are higher than the surrounding country, shone red beyond al-Ġilf; the latter borders on the Nâzjet al-Mindassa, which extends as far as the Ḥabb al-Ḥuṭṭa. This *habb* runs from among the sandy hollows of al-Mwâġe and the sandy hills Te'es al-Abraş and Te'es al-Aḳ'as southeastward as far as the wells of at-Tejjem. In the Ḥabb al-Ḥuṭṭa, northwest of the last-named wells, there are the wells of al-Ḥafire and as-Sajbijje; west of the latter lie the wells of ar-Riznijje and al-Mrawweb. On the east the *habb* is separated by al-Ḥaġîbe, a tongue of sand, from the Ḥabb al-'Adâm, which runs from the Ṭu'ûs al-Ḥeġelât southeast to the settlement of Baḳ'a'.

In this *ḥabb* there are the wells of al-Merfi and aš-Šejbâni; in a hollow to the east of the latter lies the well of al-Aṭwa'.⁸⁹

From 6.29 to 6.52 we sketched a map of the environs. To the south-southwest Nâzel pointed out the hill of aš-Šandûḳ, which looks as if it had been cut level with a knife and past which sweeps the road of al-Ġa'êfnijje connecting Ḥâjel and Baḳ'a'. This road traverses the gardens of as-Swêfle and the elevation of Marma az-Zabi, on which the pilgrims usually pitch their camps before entering Ḥâjel. At 8.15 the Abraḳ al-Ḥâsra, at the base of which are wells of the same name, emerged to the southeast. Northeast of us the two flat-topped hills of al-Mraḳḳatên indicated the direction of the wells of al-Ḥomejme, at which we arrived at 8.35. These wells are about five meters deep, and their water is fresh; however, at the time of our visit they were all choked up, there having been no adequate rainfall for the last four years. As the vicinity was destitute of grass, the Bedouins did not camp there. The wells in al-Ḥâsra are said to be only three to five meters deep and never to cave in through neglect, because they lie near the road to Baḳ'a' and are used with greater frequency. A vigorous west wind had been blowing since 8.49.

WELLS OF AL-ḤOMEJME TO ḤABB AL-ĠUḤFA

At 9.30 we saw to the north-northwest of the hill of al-Mifred the basin of Ofm at-Tejjem,⁹⁰ in which the watering place of Ġaw at-Tejjem is situated.

Ofm at-Tejjem is crossed by the road which leads from Ḥâjel to al-Ḥajjâniyje. The plain we were traversing is covered with coarse sand and overgrown with *rimt* bushes. To the north it is bounded by the Nefûd, in which the Nawâzi al-Ḥaġîbe shone northwest of where we were. The dust which was filling the air with increasing density prevented us from seeing the landscape distinctly. Southeast of us the Ḳwêrât al-Mellôtijjât came into view and to the south of them the flat-topped ridge Ḥazm al-Elb, along which runs the road to Baḳ'a'. From 10.23 to 11.08 we lunched. At 11.20, having

⁸⁹ Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 554, mentions the spring water well of at-Tawa', without indicating its location. It may be identical with al-Aṭwa'.

⁹⁰ According to Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 114, Utajm is a watering spot west of the Salma mountains, which belong to the Tajj tribe. — Our at-Tejjem does not lie west but north of the Salma range; we can, notwithstanding, recognize in it the Utajm of Jâkût, as this author frequently is mistaken regarding directions.

the eroded rocks of *aẓ-Zab’a* and *aẓ-Zab’ân* to our right, we entered the *Nefûd*, where our camels grazed from 2.02 to 2.23. At 2.50 we found ourselves in the *Ḥabb al-‘Adâm*, which, beginning at the well of *aš-Šejbâni*, extends as far as the



FIG. 51—Al-Ġetâmiġje, a draw well.

hamlet of *Ba’îte* near *Baġ’a*. At 3.30 we reached the *Ḥabb al-Žetâde*, where there are a few *ḥabâri*, in which the water, however, hardly ever remains as long as a fortnight. At 4.40 we camped in the ‘*Erž aš-Ša’âra* and drew a map of the surrounding country.

To the north and northeast the beams of the sinking sun lingered on the glittering dunes of *al-Ḥallijjât*, *al-Minfereš*, *Burmân*, and *al-Lubejdînât*, north of which shone the

Ṭe'es abu Râsên and Ṭu'ûs al-Meġles. The scarp Ġâl al-Ĥenw, which runs westward from the watering place of aš-Ša'ebe, appeared as a pale line to the southeast; south of the Ġâl al-Ĥenw extends the Ġâl 'Ajjâr, facing southeast and enclosing the plain of al-Ġetjâte and the oasis of Baġ'a. To the south-east of where we were the Nâzjet al-Ĥedâġe covers with sand nearly the whole plain north of the Ġâl al-Ĥenw, which extends east as far as the bare, leveled rocks of al-Mejtân.

On March 11 we started at 3.16. At 5.35 we were in the Ḥabb al-Ĥenw, which leads from the northwest to the watering place of aš-Ša'ebe. Mt. al-Ġildijje still lingered in our view far to the south-southwest. We were now traversing the sandy tract of al-Ḥowme, above which rise many dunes. Stopping at 6.35 at the well of al-Ġlejjebe we beheld the Ṭe'es Burmân and the extensive Ṭe'es al-Minfereš to the northwest of us. From 6.50 to 7.14 our camels grazed.

To the south we saw the camp of Chief Fâjed eben Rejfi of the Singâra, who had smashed the right arm of 'Awde abu Tâjeh, the chief of the Ḥwêtât, when 'Awde was charging Fâjed's party at the base of the al-Misma' mountains. Nâzel went for some information to the herdsmen and, on returning, called out while still at a distance: "Listen to the pleasant tidings which tell thee that the moon of good omen will shine at the close of thy journey!" Then he went on to say that Fahad eben Tnejjân was camping by the watering place of Lîne. Nâzel was not easy to involve in conversation. The very mode of address or questioning was enough to enable him to find out whether any man who wished to speak with him had knowledge or insight; he would either reply or ride off in silence, as the case might be.

From 10.35 to 12.15 we rested in a hollow beside the Ṭu'ûs al-Lubejdînât. On the west the hollow was bounded by a sandy upland, on the north the sand formed a wall about ten meters high, whereas on the south and east the hollow merged into the surrounding plain. Such a depression is called a *ma'w*. From 1.47 to 2.04 our camels grazed in a narrow lateral gully of the sort known as *šaṭne*. All the *ka'ar* hollows here pointed from west to east, and in the southwestern quarter their depth was the greatest. We descended into one of these *ka'ar*, where we camped at five o'clock.

On March 12 we started at 3.15. At six o'clock we saw the sand hills Ṭu'ûs al-Meġles lying to the northwest of us.

From 6.28 to 6.49 our camels grazed in the dell Ḥabb ar-Rozom, which runs towards the sands of al-Ġabrije. At 7.05 we had to the south the high sandy flats Nawâzi-l-Wendijjât, southeastward from which runs the Ḥabb al-Ḥasač, defining the western boundary of the aš-Šâma territory, which we entered at 7.48. At nine o'clock the pointed cone of al-‘Anejtît, which projects from the dark ridge of al-Ġabd, came into view beyond the sandy flat Nâzjet al-Btêra to the southeast, the knoll of al-Ġbejl rose to the east beyond the Tu‘ûs at-Truba, and to the north the Tu‘ûs al-Ḥašîmijjât could be seen.

At 9.37 we sighted the fort of at-Truba,⁹¹ lying in a basin hemmed in to the north, east, and south by the sands of the Nâzjet al-Maġnât and to the west by a rocky slope. The fort was built in 1869 by Prince Bender eben Rašîd, but fell into disuse in 1912. A well with brackish running water is sunk close by. The keepers of the fort, when still posted there, drank water fetched from al-Ḥazra.

Southeast of the fort we descried eight riders, Sa‘ûd’s slaves, coming with good tidings of another victory. Nâzel, however, did not believe them and concluded that they had come to sponge on the settlers and the Bedouins. One of the slaves, who turned out to be an old friend of Nâzel’s, joined us for a while; on leaving he warned Nâzel not to appear before the prince with me. From 10.53 to 12.03 we rested.

At 1.15 we finally saw the escarpment which overlooks the Ḥabb al-Ġuḥfa on the east. If there are copious rains in the season of *šejf* (early summer) and again in the autumn (the *wasmi* rains), perennials flower as early as February and March. If, however, *šejf* is dry, they flower only in *kejz* (midsummer) and make poor pasture in spring.

ḤABB AL-ĠUḤFA TO OUR HOME CAMP NEAR LÎNE

At 1.48 we descended into the Ḥabb al-Ġuḥfa, crossing our route of the previous January 24, and then entered the *še‘ib* of Umm Ṭalḥa, in which our ravenous camels grazed from 2.40 to 3.00 o'clock. At 3.13 we reached, through the *še‘ib*, the upland plain of at-Tejsijje,⁹² the western edge of which

⁹¹ Jâkût (*op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 835) was told by a man who had come from the mountains of the Ṭajj tribe that Turaba was the name given to a watering place west of the Salma. — This seems to be a mistake. West of the Salma there is no large watering place called Turaba, while our watering place northeast of the Salma mountains is known throughout the territory of the ancient Ṭajj tribe.

⁹² Al-Bekri, *Mu‘ğam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 399, states that the valley (*riġle*) of at-Tejs winds

is formed by the escarpment overlooking the Ḥabb al-Ġuhfa. This plain is undulating, with many swells separated from one another by broad shallow valleys extending eastwards.

We passed through the small gullies of al-Metâjîh which run down to the lowland Ḥôr Uḡejjân between at-Tejsijje

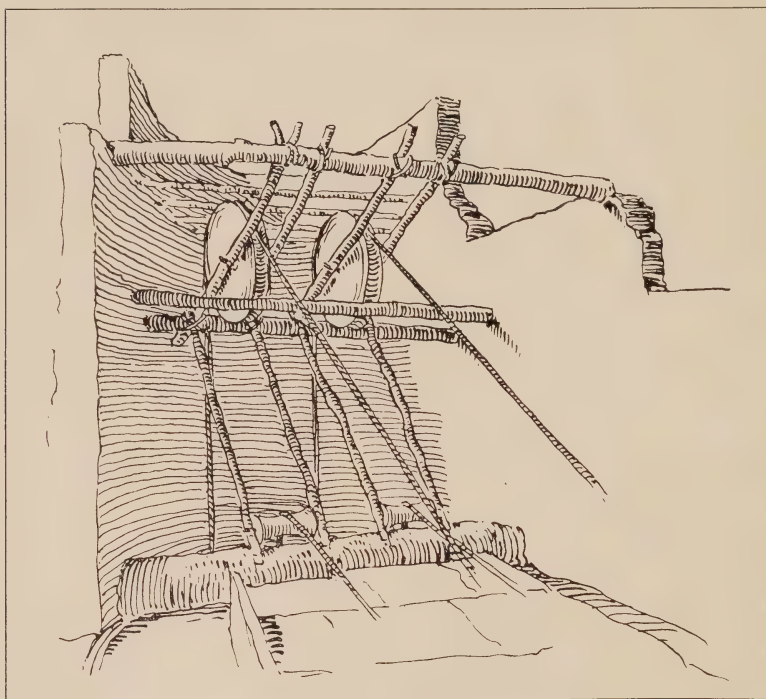


FIG. 52—Al-Ġetâ mijje, a draw well.

and the sand waste of ad-Dhana. At five o'clock we camped in one of these gullies by the wayside.

On March 13 we started at 3.25 and passed through a broad valley reaching eastwards. South of the ruined station of al-ʿArâješ we crossed at 6.15 the Darb Zobejde or Darb as-Sultâni, the old Pilgrim Road from Mecca to al-Kûfa. The

along the border between the Tadj territory and that of the Beni Asad. In this valley the Beni Jarbû' and Beni Sa'd attacked the united Tadj and Asad tribes, but were repelled.

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 907, mentions the valley of at-Tejs between al-Kûfa and Syria. —

Our at-Tejsijje lies on the confines of the ancient territory of the Beni Asad and Beni Jarbû', a region in which the battle referred to is much more likely to have occurred than in the region to which al-Bekri assigns it.

features of the country around us were monotonous, varied only by depressions from a half to one kilometer in breadth, in which no dry watercourses were to be seen, and by narrow gullies between rocky slopes, in which each watercourse was usually so much choked with sand that only in rare cases

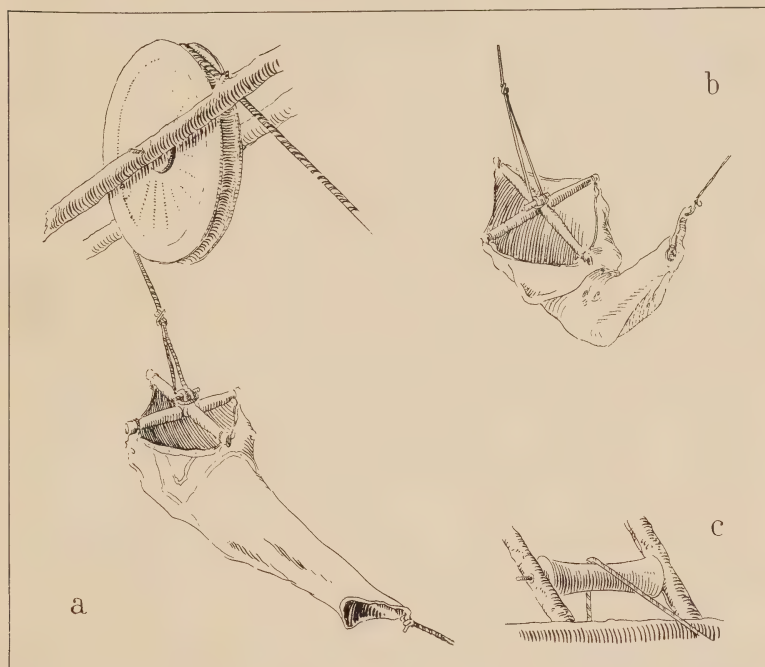


FIG. 53—Draw well equipment: a) wheel and bucket; b) bucket when being hoisted; c) roller.

could water flow through its entire extent. A depression that has no channel in it is called by the Šammar *sowh*, a gully with a dry channel being termed *šerje*. From 6.32 to 6.44 our camels grazed.

Nâzel was eager to learn the length of an hour, for he longed for a watch and wished to know how to use it. Bedouins do not know how to measure time by hours; they estimate the lengths of different periods by the time required in migrating from one camping ground to another. In the hot season of *al-kejš* the Šammar set off as soon as the morning star is up and pitch their camp after the dew has evaporated;

only then do they milk their camels, sheep, and goats. Such a migration and the corresponding period of time (about four hours) is called *raḥîl al-lben*. In winter they start after the dew has evaporated and pitch the new camp at noon or early in the afternoon. This migration is termed *raḥîl aš-šta'* and indicates a period of about three hours.

At 8.30 we arrived at the depression of al-Aṛṭawijje, which stretches westward to the old pilgrim station of al-ʿArâješ. This depression is covered with a deep layer of sand in which luxuriant *arṭa* bushes thrive. In the modest depression of al-ʿArâješ the *arṭa* and *rimt* shrubs are so tall that on hot days the Bedouins seek protection from the sun under them. There are said to be remains of old walls there, buried beneath the sand. In at-Tejsijje the depressions are overgrown with an unusual abundance of *ṣam'*, a plant much like barley; young *ṣam'* is eagerly devoured by camels, sheep, and goats. When the flower is gone and the seeds begin to mature, the awns (*sefa'*) dry up and remain sticking in everything they touch; nor can they be removed. As they penetrate the nostrils, lips, and gums of the grazing cattle, causing grave inflammation, the herdsmen drive their herds and flocks away from the *ṣam'*. When the *ṣam'* is thoroughly dry and the wind has carried away the awns, the plant is called *rmâm* and again provides excellent pasture. Camels which have grazed on *rmâm* for seven days grow as strong as if they had grazed on other dry annuals for thirty days.

From 10.46 to 11.45 we took our lunch. At 1.40 we reached the ʿErž al-Lobejjed, the southwestern edge of the sand desert of ad-Dhana.

Ad-Dhana is a branch of the Nefûd, not quite thirty kilometers wide, but measuring hundreds of kilometers in length. It begins about fifty kilometers northwest of the Pilgrim Road, where the ʿArejž al-Mrejṭ connects it with the Nefûd. On the southwest it is separated by the lowlands of Ḥôr ʿUḳejjân and as-Šĥera from at-Tejsijje, and on the northeast it is bounded by the steep escarpments of a line of mesas. Proceeding from the ʿArejž al-Mrejṭ to the southeast, the names of these mesas are: al-ʿElûćijje, Kûr al-Ḥnejfes, Kwêrât Tûk, Ğâl Sennâr, Ab-al-Muṭrân, al-Metaḳ, and al-Mḥaḳḳeba. They were at one time continuous with the stony plateau of al-Ġrajba to the northeast but have been separated from the latter by the erosion of a lowland belt; it is probable that in the distant future they too will

crumble away into the sands of ad-Dhana. Northwest winds carry the sands from the Nefûd across the level at-Tejsijje and deposit it at the foot of the lofty southwest-facing scarps of these mesas, which the sand erodes and undermines. Remnants of ancient mesas, the flat-topped ridges of aş-Şebah, al-Ma‘ejzile, al-Rrejre, and al-Mḥawa° still rise out of ad-Dhana. The sands of ad-Dhana are not high and form neither the large *ka‘ar* hollows nor the impassable *flûk* ridges,⁹³ characteristic of the Nefûd. The sand accumulates about the erosion remnants, which it buries without forming *tu‘ûs* (dunes); thus the Bedouins in ad-Dhana know only *nawâzi* (sandy flats) and rocky levels on which the layer of sand lies only a few centimeters deep. The deepest layer of sand has accumulated in the ‘Erż al-Lobejjed. To the northeast beyond al-Lobejjed the Nâzjet ar-Rorlijje unfolds to the west of the Pilgrim Road, and to the southeast of it there are the sands of al-Bṭâne, ad-Durum, at-Tałâlî, ar-Rijâši, Ğer° at-Ṭwêle°, al-Hwêmi, al-Ḥatife, and al-‘Âdrije. In ad-Dhana there are no springs. There is but one well, that of al-‘Elûčijje, in the *še‘ib* of Fejhân at the northernmost corner of the Dhana. A number of rain ponds, such as the Ḥabra ummu Rmâḥ and the Ḥabra ‘Ali, are to be found in rocky places. In former times, either the nomads or the merchant caravans searched in ad-Dhana for ground water at great depths and sunk countless wells, one group of which now constitutes the watering place of Lîne. In rocky ledges many small and large cisterns were hollowed out; the mouth of each was made so narrow that it could be stopped with a single stone which protected it from becoming choked by sand or defiled by locusts. Many of these cisterns, however, are now filled with sand — although others have been reopened and contain water after rain —, as, for example, as-Swejže, al-Maḥâfir, and al-Lûma. The last lies near the ancient pilgrim station of al-‘Aššâr, where a few half-choked artificial ponds (Brejčt al-‘Aššâr) have been preserved down to our day. In the southeastern portion of ad-Dhana there are fractures in the rocks along which solution has formed narrow grottos, or dolines, into which the run-off also drains and is retained for a long time. Such places are called *daḥl* (pl., *duḥûl*).

From 2.15 to 2.35 our camels grazed; we then traversed the Nawâzi-d-Durum in a northeasterly direction. At 5.12 we made camp.

⁹³ See my *Arabia Deserta*, New York, 1927, pp. 132, 152.

On March 14 we started at 3.08. At 4.10 we ascended a tongue of sand and at 4.29 entered the dell Ḥabb umm Iden, through which runs a direct route from the settlement of Dîde in al-Ḳašîm to Irak. At 5.20 we turned to the north and at 6.15 the bare rocky elevation of Šeʿafet al-Mḥawaʿ came into view to the east. From 6.20 to 6.43 our camels grazed on a sandy spot much trampled both by animals and men. It looked as if ad-Dhana were full of the Singâra and their herds. Their black tents rose in every quarter. At 7.48 the steep slope of Ġâl Şennâr emerged above the horizon to the north-northeast, and to the north-northwest the level-topped ridge of al-Maʿejzîle came into view. We were met by a horseman who offered us his salutation and then asked for news. Nâzel answered:

"Tell us thy news and then we will tell thee ours (*allemna wa henna nuʿallemak*)."

The horseman said:

"Listen to pleasant tidings. The host is very near and the omen is auspicious (*ebşer al-muʿazzeb ƙrajjeb wa-l-fâl ƙajjeb*)."

Then he indicated the direction of the camp where our tents were. We turned towards them. At 8.40 the Nâzjet at-Ṭalâlî (Sandy Flats of the Sentries), so called because the whole environs of the watering place of Lîne may be watched from it, lay east of us. The tabular hills Ƙwêrât Ṭûƙ, composed of black and white strata, struck the eye to the northwest.

WITH EBEN TNEJJÂN NEAR LÎNE

About nine o'clock we sighted the camp and our white tent in a sandy basin. We hastened toward it and reached "home" at 9.30. Nâzel's old mother welcomed her beloved son, and then Mômî, his daughter, a thin girl about ten years old, also came to see her dear father, who had promised to bring her something. On entering the tent Manşûr tripped and fell, tumbling on the tent rope; the shock forced three guide pegs out of the sandy ground, and the tent collapsed. Nâşer exclaimed: "Ill luck (*fâl radi*) for thee, Manşûr." Manşûr was a loyal servant, always ardent in his duties, but he was awkward and quite an idiot at moments. On our route from Damascus to Eben Raşîd's encampment and also on our excursion to al-ʿEla he was such a trial to us that we did not wish

to see him again. When still at Damascus I told Nâşer, who had brought him, that Manşûr would be no good to us, but he assured me that it was only in a town that Manşûr was so bashful; but, once at large in the desert, his brain would open. It did not do so, however. I was sorry for him, but he had to go. I continued paying and boarding him as far as an-Neğef, but he was forbidden to enter the tent and slept with one of Nâzel’s relatives.

Towards evening Chief Fahad eben Tnejjân came to see me and declared that Eben Raşîd had been deserted by all but ‘Ekâb eben ‘Eğel, his father-in-law, and some four chiefs with their Bedouins and in consequence had withdrawn from al-Ḳaşîm and had lost all the conquered settlements. He had repeatedly despatched his slaves, one after the other, to the Singâra and ‘Abde, now praying, now threatening, but the invariable response was that they would not join him in war against Eben Sa’ûd and the members of the Eben Raşîd family who were with Eben Sa’ûd. Fahad also said that many Singâra and ‘Abde clans had placed themselves under the protection of the Emir Nawwâf at al-Ğowf and that other chiefs of the same tribes had wished to despatch a delegate to Eben Sa’ûd, but had waited till I returned in order to consult me first. I thanked Fahad for the care he had taken of my property and solicited the continuation of his loyalty during my stay in Şammar territory.

“O Mûsa, Fahad has only one tongue. What he has spoken will come to pass. The minister Sa’ûd has sent an order requesting me to bring thy camels with all their loads to him and promising to protect them. I have not even sent a reply. Eben Tnejjân is not Eben Subhân.”

On March 15 we classified our cartographic notes, photographic plates, herbs, minerals, etc. I enquired about the territory of the az-Zefîr tribe which I was eager to visit, and in the evening we determined the latitude.

On March 16 we changed our camping ground. We set out to the east at 8.13 and at 8.35 turned to the north-northeast, reaching the watering place of Lîne⁹⁴ at 8.53. Lîne

⁹⁴ Al-Bekri, *Mu’ğam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 498, states that Lîne is a locality to the right of Zubâla.

As-Sakûni (Jâkût, *Mu’ğam* [Wüstenfeld], Vol. 2, p. 464; Vol. 4, p. 375) employs the name Lîne for the fourth station on the road from Wâset to Mecca. Many wells, both of spring and rain water, are said to exist there, in addition to the rain water reservoir belonging to the sultan. The water is good. The station pertained to the Beni Râdera and was said to consist of three hundred springs. One of the wells had been hollowed out by devils. Beyond the station of Lîne unfolds the sand desert of al-Ḥall, which must be crossed by pilgrims

lies at the base of the steep scarp Ġâl Şennâr. There are some four hundred wells there hollowed out in the rock and from eight to eleven *bâ'* (c. 16—22 m.) deep. The water in them is fresh.

A narrow tongue of sand (*'erž*) extends southeast of the wells from the Nawâzi-d-Durum to the Nâzjet an-Na'ge; north of this *'erž* lies the lowland Hôr al-Mu'adda. At 9.20 we caught up with a migrating clan and at 9.45 pitched our camp at the southeastern base of the Nâzjet an-Na'ge. In the afternoon I sketched a map of the Zefîr territory according to the instructions of various persons.

On March 17 we moved on again. Having left our camping ground at 7.10, we reached the Hôr al-Mu'adda at 7.35 and the base of the steep scarp Ġâl Şennâr at 8.36; by 9.21 we had ascended this scarp through a deep gully. From 9.51 to 10.28 we rested. At 12.17 we made camp in the uplands of al-Ġrajba.

The afternoon was spent in overhauling the things we intended to take with us on our journey to the territory of the tribe of az-Zefîr. Nâzel advised us to put on old clothes and take as few valuable things as possible under the circumstances. Both he and Fahad asserted that the Zefîr could not be trusted and that many clans camping along the Euphrates kept their herds grazing on the territory of the Zefîr. Such clans waged wars both among themselves and against all their neighbors and robbed every wayfarer who came to them without the patronage of a member of their tribe. Fahad warned me particularly against the tribe of az-Zejâd, to which some of the settlements in the vicinity of Sûk aş-Şujûh belong. In 1914 they slew two Singâra who were en route to the town of az-Zubejr near al-Başra. This deed was avenged by the Singâra, who, during our absence on the trip to al-'Ela', had slain seven Zejâd returning from al-Ķaşîm. According to Fahad reports of this vengeance were probably reaching the Zejâd at the very time we were speaking of it, and hence they were doubtless becoming enraged against the Singâra. Thus it was clear that they would butcher us if we fell into their hands unaccompanied by some powerful protector. A member of the

as far as the station of at-Ta'labijje, whence the distance to Lîne is shorter than that from Lîne to Wâset.

A poet mentions the pasture lands between Lîne, al-Ķahr, an-Naġafât, and al-Butr, and Jâkût states that Butr is the name of the hills rising above the station of Zubâla in the aş-Saġîk territory (*ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 489). — Aş-Saġîk is no doubt the outlying territory near the station of aş-Suġûk. Lîne lies to the east of this place, while Zubâla is situated to the north of it.

Bdûr tribe, who are neighbors of the Zejâd, happened to be in camp as a *kaşîr* (neighbor) of the Singâra. As he claimed that he could protect us from them, I hired him as our guide. It was decided that Bâjež, a young relative of Nâzel's, was to join us as a substitute for Manşûr. Nâzel had brought up Hẓêri, an orphan of his slain brother, and loved him as his own son. The young man, who was twenty years old, had been married in the afternoon, just before our departure. No sacrifice was offered, no feast held, nor any special tent pitched. Hẓêri spent almost the whole afternoon with us and assisted in the packing our luggage. I woke up at midnight — and Hẓêri was still sitting with Nâzel by the fire listening to his tales. It was past midnight before he went to his bride.

CHAPTER VI
IN THE TERRITORY OF THE TRIBE OF AZ-ZEFÎR AND
IN THE AD-DHANA DESERT

LÎNE TO HĀJEJ AL-KĀSÂS; THE ZEFÎR

On March 18, 1915, we set out to the northeast at 6.45. Our purpose was to explore the territory of the az-Zefîr tribe northwest of al-Bâten and more particularly to visit the famous ruined stronghold Kaşr abu Râr. Hẓêri, the young husband, accompanied us a short distance. We were passing through the district of al-Ġrajba, amidst natural scenery which I could compare to nothing in Arabia. The ground is an undulating rocky plain, the soft sandstone layers of which are gradually giving way to erosion. Broad flat depressions with insignificant wet-weather stream channels traverse the whole plain from southwest to northeast. Such shallow depressions are called *hadâlîl* (sing., *hadlûl*). They are separated by countless basins of no great size, each of which is surrounded by roughly circular walls of crumbling stone. These heaps may attain a height of as much as twenty meters and be so precipitous that they cannot be ascended; such a wall is called *hšabe* (pl., *hšabât*), the basin itself being known as *krajje* (pl., *krajjât*). The slopes of these circular walls are quite bare, without either annuals or perennials growing on them. In the *hadâlîl* and *krajjât* perennials (*šaġar*) are very rare and only annuals (*ʿešeb*) thrive. If there are no rains for as relatively short a period as one year only, animals find no pasture in al-Ġrajba.

At 8.55 we reached al-Ġelʿûdijje, a road from Irak to Mecca which leads from the watering place of Lîne to that of Abu Râr. Three *hadâlîl* called al-Rurâbijjât extend northwards from this vicinity. They originate near Lîne and terminate on the northern confines of al-Ġrajba. From 9.38 to 10.03 we rested. From 11.20 to 12.00 we drew water from pools (*rudr*) near the ruins of al-ʿAmâra. About fifty ruined huts lie on a low eminence to the north of the road. At one time, when al-Ġelʿûdijje was still used by pilgrims, the huts were occupied by various merchants. In a short, shallow valley to the west

below the huts *sidr* trees form thick copses, among and beneath which there are small hollows in an unimportant channel. These hollows were full of rain water (Fig. 54). While we were busy drawing water, Hzejjem, our guide from the Bdûr clan, who was to shield us against the Zejâd, disappeared. It was clear that he felt uncertain about his task and had resolved to desert us. Thus all we could do was to seek out the Zefîr and recruit a comrade (*hawî*) from among their ranks. We continued our journey along the road of al-Ġel'ûdijje. From 1.25 to 1.51 our camels grazed while we waited for Nâzel, who made an excursion to a neighboring camp of the Aslam tribe in order to find out something about the nearest encampment of the Zefîr. At three o'clock the depression of al-A'êweġ lay to the east. To the north az-Ze'bijje, a low table-topped hill, came into view. At 3.50 we encamped by the al-Ġel'ûdijje road, screened by a clump of *sidr* trees at a short distance from the camp of the al-Ġa'âfra clan of the Šammar near the wells of al-A'êweġ.

On March 19 we departed at 4.20 in an easterly direction. In the darkness the march was very difficult, as we had to avoid various *hšabât*. After six o'clock the *krajjât* were larger and the round heaps of stones lower. Gypsum and salt were to be found on all sides. At 7.25 we arrived at the camp of a Bwejt family of the Zefîr tribe. The name of the chief was Hazzâ' eben 'Ekâb eben Swêt. He looked about forty years old, was short of stature and stalwart, with intellectual features. For his generous liberality he was held in reverence. He had married twice and by his first wife had two sons, the older of whom had been slain by 'Aġami eben Sa'dûn, chief of the Muntifež, and the other killed by the Šammar. His second wife had given birth to a boy a short time before our visit.

None of his subjects was at first willing to accompany us, pleading pressure of work and troubles with the Muntifež and 'Aġmân tribes, but at last a lad of about twenty years offered to join us. He asserted that he knew all the surrounding tribes and could protect us from them. Hazzâ' called out to him not to talk like that, as he could protect us only from the Zefîr; as regards the other tribes, we should have to secure comrades from their ranks. The Zefîr were split into two factions, a smaller one, which demanded peace, and a larger one, with Hmûd eben Swêt as head chief, which was waging war against the Bdûr, the Zejâd, and the adherents of 'Aġami

eben Sa'dûn, chief of the Muntifež. Chief Hazzâ and his Bwejti subjects were 'Ağami's foes, but with the Bdûr and Zejâd they were neither at war nor at peace. They would rob one another in bands of two or three men. Thus a Bwejti could



FIG. 54—At al-'Amâra.

not pledge our safety unless he personally knew some man of the Zejâd and asked for his protection. Our Bwejti assured us that he knew many men who would willingly "lend him their face" — that is, offer their protection even for us.

The Zejâd are descended from the Kwâčbe. The name of their head chief was Brejd eben Ğindîl. Hedhûd eben Ğindîl, his brother, was in Eben Rašîd's prison. The head chief of the Bdûr was Širšâb eben Zwejđ. In 1910 both the Zejâd and the Bdûr were still subject to the Muntifež and Żefîr tribes,

but when, after the death of the great chief Saʿdûn, civil wars had broken out among the Muntifeẓ and also between the latter and the Ẓefîr, the Bdûr and Zejâd rose against both, razed the fastnesses and strongholds of the Muntifeẓ, and in winter moved with their herds and flocks wherever they wished to go. Thus had they demolished the Ẓaṣr abu Râr.⁹⁵ Clad as women they were admitted by the guards of the fortified building, whom they slew in the night; then, flinging open the gate, they slaughtered ʿAğami's farm hands and pulled down the *kaṣr*.

The Ẓefîr tribe is divided into:

al-Bṭûn (head chief: Ḥmûd eben Swêt)
aṣ-Ṣmede („ „ Lazzâm ab-ad-Drâ').

The clans of al-Bṭûn are: Âl Bwejt
Âl Saʿîd
Beni Ḥsên
Beni Ḥâled
Âl Ğetîr
Ṭlûḥ.

The Bṭûn number about 2500 tents and are notorious for their faithlessness.

The clans of aṣ-Ṣmede are: Âl ʿArejġ
al-Ẓwâsem
an-Nfêsân
al-Maʿlîm
al-Mesâmîr
Ẓerʿân.

The Ṣmede number 1000 tents; the Šammar regard them as their kinsmen (*beni ʿamm*).

The following clans camp with the Ẓefîr:

al-Ġjarîn
al-ʿAwâzem
ar-Rešâjde
al-ʿWene
as-Slêlât
al-Kwâd.

⁹⁵ In Abu Râr I recognize the earlier Du Kâr and possibly also the Idikara of Ptolemy, *Geography*, V, 19: 4.

Some of the clans of the Bekr ibn Wâ'il, to which tribe the Šejbân and ʿEğl clans belonged, used to camp in summer at Du Kâr. No'mân, the banished king of al-Ḥîra, fled from al-Ḥîra to the Tâjj tribe and into the latter's mountains. However, the Tâjj declined to shelter him, for they feared Chosroes, and hence No'mân went off to the Šejbân clan near Du Kâr. Later he voluntarily came to Chosroes and was exiled to Ḥâneġîn, where he died about 601 A.D. Afterwards the Bekr ibn Wâ'il tribe made repeated raids into Persian territory, for the tribe feared Ijâs ibn Kaḇîsa of the Tâjj, the new master appointed by Chosroes over al-Ḥîra. At the king's order the commanders of al-Ḥîra, aṭ-Tuġtuġâne, and Safawân were led by Ijâs against the Bekr ibn Wâ'il. The members of this tribe wished to flee, but Ḥanzala, their chief, held them back, cut the girths of their pack saddles, and pitched his tent in the basin of Du Kâr. His fellow tribesmen encamped in the vicinity. The Persians attacked the tents in al-Ḥenw, penetrated as far as al-Ġubâbât, then retreated in the direction of Du Kâr. When at Ġubb the warriors of the Šejbân clan fell on them and with the aid of other tribesmen, including also those of al-Lahâzem, pursued them from the basin of Du Kâr as far as ar-Râḥeda and Adam. (Aṭ-Ṭabari, *Ta'riḥ* [De Goeje], Ser. 1, pp. 1027—1036.)

At 10.40 we set out to the northeast. Southwest of us lay the basin-like depressions called at-Taġġârât and beyond them the plain of az-Zaġla. About five kilometers to the west our Zefiri indicated the Ĥadaġ Ršâs abu Šowr, a shallow well in which the run-off is retained for some time. *Ĥadaġ* denotes a round hole in clay or in a soft place in stony ground into which water drains. At eleven o'clock the rain pool Ĥabra al-Manġûra came into view to the south, with the mesa of al-Knêne, which long lingered in sight in the foreground. From 11.25 to 11.55 our camels grazed on *hamra*, *rorejla*, *hawdân*, *soboġ*, *raraz*, *raġma*, *saĥam*, *kaġ'a*, and *snejsle*.

Nâzel said that not long ago the 'Amârât still had their camps in the southern part of at-Tejsijje, which down to the present day has been called Tejsijjet 'Aneze after them. The 'Amârât belong to the group of the 'Aneze from whom also Eben Sa'ûd of the Mešâlîh, as well as Eben Šabbâh, lord of al-Kwejt, and Eben Ĥejl, lord of al-Ķaşîm, are descended. Our Zefiri feared the Beni-l-Ĥsejn and 'Amârât bands of raiders.

At 1.15 the escarpment of Ĥkej al-Ķšâs rose into view, resembling a reddish wall about twenty meters high and shutting in the horizon to the northeast. At 1.30 we sighted the mesa of al-Ĥarma to the southeast. At the base of this hill, very near the Ĥkej, lies the watering place of Umm Ruzuma, with many wells of fresh water from twenty to forty *bâ'* (c. 40—80 m.) deep.

The tract of al-Ġrajba, in which encamp the Šlejba âl Mâġed and Bedâdle, who are much more despised by the Zefir than by other tribes, is bounded on the northeast by the escarpment of Ĥkej al-Ķšâs. North-east of the Ĥkej al-Ķšâs the tract of al-Mrêwed extends as far as the northern part of the escarpment of ar-Rwâġ, which is itself the south-eastern continuation of the escarpment Ġâl al-Baġen. The last begins to the northwest near the mesas of Lumejma and al-Bêzatên close to the Wâdi al-Ĥerr and the head of Wâdi al-Ĥeseb. Al-Ġrajba slopes to the northeast, al-Mrêwed to the southwest, and consequently the run-off flows down them towards the Ĥkej al-Ķšâs, at the base of which it supplies the wells of Ġaw Mâjbâtbo, Ĥabra-l-Ma'ejzlijje, and the watering places of Umm Ruzuma and al-'Oġoba. Southwest of al-Ma'ejzlijje ends the depression of al-Baddâġ, which extends from the southwest. In it and its vicinity there are the wells of al-'Arejfeġ, al-Mutrebe, ar-Rorwe, aš-Šlubi, al-Eġġeti, and al-Ĥdeġe. North of al-'Oġoba is the well of al-Amnaĥ, and north of this the Daĥal al-Mrejšed. North of the Ġaw Mâjbâtbo the well of Ča'balli is to be found between the stony knolls of ar-Rubejta and al-Ĥarbaġa. North of this, where the escarpment of Ġâl al-Baġen terminates,

the well of Ġawḥa⁹⁶ lies under the hills of ar-Rfêfât on the at-Turmu-zijje road.

On the Pilgrim Road leading from al-Başra by way of Abu Râr and Lîne the watering places of Tḡajječ⁹⁷ and an-Nṣâb are situated east of Ġawḥa. An-Nṣâb is shut in by the table mountain of as-Sadâwi and consists of the wells of 'Erš, al-'Awd, and az-Zwêr.

Between an-Nṣâb and Ġawḥa extends the Fejzat al-'Ağz, in which the hill Brejž al-Ranam rises half-submerged in sand. To the southeast of an-Nṣâb lies the well of Umm Hašîm, and a short distance beyond it begins the escarpment called Flejğ aš-Šemâli.

Beyond the escarpment of ar-Rwâk to the north lies the depression of Fejzat al-Mnêse, which communicates with the Fejzat al-Hrêtiije still farther north. On the west al-Mnêse is bounded by the low hills of ar-Rfêfât, on the north by the Kârt al-Ranma, and on the east by the depression of Twâl al-Amrâr, which slopes southwards. In and along the edge of the last-named depression there are the wells of ad-Dlejmijjât, al-'Âmriije, al-Ġejde, aš-Šihâniije, ar-Rhejmijje, 'Oḡl al-Ġrejbi'ât, Heşjân umm al-'Abid, Semmâh, and al-'Oḡoba.

From 2.37 to 3.07 our camels grazed on *swajža*, *hâfûr*, *šikḡâra*, *hawdân*, *rhâma*, *šilwa*, and *korzi*. We passed through some soft, porous sandstone forming an encrusted layer into which our animals sank. Here and there extensive surfaces covered with salt were to be seen in the *hadâlîl* (depressions), and in some places the ground was damp and gave way under the feet of our camels as if it were a *sabḡa* (salt marsh). Of the herbs *samn* thrive best. At twelve o'clock we saw *šîh* and *kejšûm* growing entirely isolated here and there. Birds known as *mash ar-rîzân* with long wings, bluish on top and edged with black, were hunting mice. At 5.25 we crossed many paths that run southeast to the watering places of Umm Ruzuma and al-'Oḡoba. At 5.32 we reached the bluffs of al-Ḥḡej (Fig. 55) and encamped in a gully. It began to rain but ceased again in a few minutes.

ḤḡEJ AL-ḲṢÂŞ TO AĈ-ĈERÎM AND RETURN TO LÎNE

On March 20 we departed at 3.09 and proceeded across al-Mrêwed, a tract of reddish ground covered with coarse shingle here and there. At 6.06 we reached the depression of aš-Še'be, in which plenty of *rimt*, *rûte*, and 'arfeğ grow.

⁹⁶ Jâkût *Mu'ğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 143, records that Ġawḥa is a locality in the desert between 'Ajn Šajd and Zubâla on the route by which the pilgrims from the town of Wâsef traveled. It belonged to the Beni 'Eğl.

⁹⁷ Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 860, mentions Tuḡajjed, a watering place in the upper part of al-Hazn. This watering place belonged to the Tejmallâh, Beni 'Eğl, and Kejs ibn Ta'labâ. — Jâkût's spelling "Tuḡajjed" was due to a wrong transcription of Tuḡajjek, which, as its situation proves, is identical with our Tḡajječ.

From 6.18 to 6.47 our camels grazed. At seven o'clock the elevation of ar-Rhama lay to the east-southeast, and the plain Fejzat al-Wa'da to the northeast of us; north-northeast of the Fejzat al-Wa'da the well of Umm Hašîm lies at the base of



FIG. 55—The well of al-Hķej.

the scarp of ar-Rwāk. At 8.20 a violent north-northwest wind began to blow. After 8.40 we passed through the depression of aĉ-Ĉerîm, which extends southward towards the tabular hill of al-Ĥarma. This depression in places attains a breadth of five and a half kilometers, and at several points the channel which runs through it is entirely lost in stones or sand. On the white ground *rimt* and *rûte* grew in isolated patches, now large, now small. At 9.41 our Zefîri drew my attention to a dark mound to the southeast, at the base of which lies the watering spot of al-Amnaĥ. From 9.44 to 10.32 we lunched (Fig. 56).

At eleven o'clock we mounted a slope which encloses al-Wad'a on the east and saw a small camp about ten kilometers ahead of us. Both our Zefîri and Nâzel concluded from the many white tents that we had to deal with Zejâd peasants and not with Bedouins. The tents covered a low, green hillside and were to be seen very distinctly. However, we also were observed. A rider, circling the camp as a *ṭallâc* (sentry)

on the lookout for enemies, saw us. He was on a ridge about eight kilometers to the north. As soon as he had descried us, he discharged his rifle and galloped toward the tents, clearly with the intention of rousing the camp and pursuing us with



FIG. 56—From ač-Ĉerîm looking east.

his men. It was of great advantage to us that the peasants in general do not take many mares away from their fields and villages into the desert, usually keeping only one or two with them in camp. They have also very few camels, and at that time those belonging to the peasants before us were grazing at some out-of-the way place. Considering all this, we could not expect to encounter them before two hours had elapsed. We made all our camels kneel down and then held a council as to what was to be done. I had wished to proceed farther on, in order to reconnoitre the entire vicinity of Abu Râr, but our Zefîri guide declared that he knew none of the Zejâd and Bdûr and refused to see us any farther. He took to his heels. I threatened to shoot him if he did not return forthwith, but he flung himself on the ground and waited. Nâzel was prepared to go with me, but I knew that, being a Singâri, he was sure to be slain, together with us all. As it thus appeared impossible to approach Abu Râr from the south, I changed my mind and decided to attempt an approach

from the northwest along the right bank of the Euphrates, and with this in view I made my camel rise and turned back, the others following. Our Zefîri lamented that he would never see his people again and ran even faster than the camels. At 12.50 our binoculars revealed two men on horseback to the northeast. They were searching for us, but we rode through the deeper depressions to remain screened from their sight.

At four o'clock the tabular hills of Kârt al-Harbağa rose into view to the northwest. Behind these lay the hills of Brejž al-Ranam and as-Sadâwi, the watering station of an-Nşâb lying at the base of the latter. At 4.20 we crossed the trails which run from an-Nşâb to the Umm Rużuma. After 4.30 our binoculars showed us a troop of riders; hence, at 4.55, we camped in a cut in the rocks, about ten meters wide, eight meters deep, and upwards of forty meters long, where there was enough pasture for our camels. We built a fire and watched the riders. They were proceeding in the same direction that we were, only some five kilometers farther north. Fourteen of them were mounted on camels, two on horseback. Nâzel and the Zefîri concluded that it was a troop of the Zejâd, pursuing us. Our camp, however, was so well hidden that we had no need to fear an attack. They did not discover our tracks on the rocky ground of the depression of aç-Ĉerîm, nor could they have done so after nightfall. Lest the smoke betray us, we burned only perennials which were quite dry, and we put out the fire as soon as the sun had set. In the night we kept a watch on a ledge above our hiding place.

On March 21 we started at three o'clock. We wished before sunrise to pass through the country in which we might possibly encounter our pursuers. There was no doubt that they would not ride the whole night, as they could not run the risk of approaching the Šammar. Nâzel and our Zefîri thought that the enemy would wait for us above the scarp of Hķej al-Kşâş. The Zejâd no doubt believed that we would stay in some place over night and start again in the morning. We took every precaution to avoid them in the darkness. The Zejâd peasants were very incautious. Unaccustomed to sleeping without blankets in the open air, they built a fire, which we sighted at four o'clock. The illuminated heads of camels and the figures of two horses could be seen above the level plain. It was the troop which we had observed before nightfall. No men were visible. Probably they were lying asleep.

We turned a little more to the right and watched the fire for over thirty minutes as we rode along. After some time the men also were to be seen rising. We goaded our camels and hastened westwards. It was six o'clock before camel and horse-back riders emerged above the horizon to the southeast. The rising sun shone brightly on them, while we were still in the lowland where its beams had not yet penetrated. Would they observe us? Would they catch us? Our camels were loaded with heavier bags than theirs, but our arms were better. Our rifles in our hands, we rode onwards, when Nâzel exclaimed: "They have seen us! They are rushing at us!" What a gallop! But it was soon over. To the right, in front of us, a camp came into view. We turned towards it and were saved! The camp belonged to the Zefîr, whose chief, 'Ali eben Dwêhi, immediately prepared to tackle the Zejâd, and the pursuers became the pursued.

From 6.35 to 6.51 our camels grazed. The plain through which we had escaped slopes to the southwest towards the watering place and station of Ġaw Mâjbâtbo between al-'Amâra and an-Nşâb on the al-Ġel'ûdijje road. While Eben Rašîd was still lord of ar-Rijâd and al-Ķaşîm, he compelled all the pilgrims from Persia and Irak to pass through Hâjel, his residence; but when Eben Sa'ûd had expelled Eben Rašîd's garrisons from ar-Rijâd and al-Ķaşîm, he made the pilgrims take the shorter route by al-Kwejt and al-Ķaşîm. Since then (about 1906) the al-Ġel'ûdijje road has been forsaken.

At eight o'clock we reached the western edge of the tract of al-Mrêwed at the escarpment of Hķej al-Ķşâş, which here falls off about twenty meters toward al-Ġrajba (Fig. 57). Many dome-shaped knolls from two to ten meters high were to be seen in the foreground below us, rising above the surface of al-Ġrajba.⁹⁸ These are each hollow, as the inner core of soft gypsum has been eroded by wind-blown sand and carried away, and only the outer crust has been preserved. Thousands of these domes have already fallen to pieces and form heaps about half a meter high and so soft that our feet sank into them. In a very few places large pieces of solid stone were to be seen, as smooth as if polished. There was almost no vegetation; only in the shallow depressions *şam'* and *niķd* were to be found. At 9.43 the wind blew from the northeast; it was warm and filled the air with haze (*ċitâm*).

⁹⁸ See my *The Middle Euphrates*, New York, 1927, pp. 60—69.

From 10.19 to 11.14 we lunched. The country we were traversing is full of small basins surrounded by circular walls of stones. The stones are flat and full of holes, resembling empty honeycombs. At twelve o'clock the wind shifted to the north and it grew cool. At 12.15 we saw the depression of Fejżat al-Fâhre about ten kilometers to the north-northwest. In this plain there lies the well of Kļejjeb al-Fâhre, eighty *bâ* (c. 160 m.) deep. Our Żefîri guide did not know the four cardinal points. For "to the west" he said "above it (*fowk minnu*)"; for "to the east," "below it (*ħadar minnu*)"; for "to the south" "to the left of it (*ala jisra minnu*)"; and for "to the north" "to the right of it (*ala ĵimna minnu*). From 1.28 to 1.52 we rested on the al-Ġel'ûdijje road, along which we turned to the southwest. After three o'clock we passed through the herds and flocks of the Żefîr. To the left of us were sitting five maidens with two youths. They were tending camels and beguiling the time with games. At 3.50, opposite the mesa of az-Ze'bijje, two half-ruined huts lay to our left. At 5.50 we encamped south of the road behind heaps of stones (*ħşabât*).

The sunset that day was glorious. The western sky gleamed violet and purple. Broad thin clouds that seemed sprinkled with molten iron floated like an elaborate curtain between the dark-brown earth and pale-blue heavens. I turned to Nâzel, saying: "O Nâzel, how beautiful is this world and how limited our life!" He returned: "O Mûsa, do not trouble about the limits of life. Live! I long for nothing but life in this world."

IN AD-DHANA NEAR LÎNE WELLS

On March 22 we were in the saddle as early as two o'clock and at 5.25 reached our tents and dismounted. Our camp was migrating and hence we departed again at 7.35. In al-Heġera there were no grasses, all had been cropped (*wuċelat*) by the camels. Fahad was astonished to see us return so soon, but he approved of our action when he heard what had befallen us. From 9.22 to 10.00 o'clock our camels grazed. At 11.40 the camp from which we had started on our last excursion lay to our left. At 12.10 we descended the escarpment Ġâl Şennâr (Fig. 58), which overlooks the sand desert of ad-Dhana. From 1.05 to 1.25 we rested. The rocky plain and watering station of Lîne lay in front of us, and to the north-

west of the plain the tabular hills Ẓwêrât Tûk came into view. At 2.48 Fahad selected a new camp site.

On March 23 we migrated again, this time into the Nawâzi-d-Durum in a south-southwesterly direction. At 7.07 we



FIG. 57—Al-Ġrajba from al-Ĥķej.

reached the southwestern wells of the watering place of Lîne. The rocky plain in which the wells are sunk is about five kilometers long by two kilometers wide. To the northeast the Ġâl Sennâr rises above it, and to the south, west, and east the plain falls away gradually toward ad-Dhana in the slope Ġwejl at-Tubejż. The southern wells are called al-Ĥazm; those to the east, aš-Ša'ebe; those to the northeast, ar-Rabza; and those to the west, al-Ṛorejra. At 7.18 we struck out westward and at 9.40 entered the Nawâzi-d-Durum, in which we encamped at 10.03. After eleven o'clock a west wind blew.

On March 24 I sketched a map of the regions south of the Salma' mountains and east of al-Bâten.

Shortly after midday Fahad came to inform us that the minister Sa'ûd had sent two slaves requesting him not to

tolerate my presence in his camp any longer. Sa'ūd, he said, suspected that the chiefs of the Singāra and 'Abde had forsaken him at my suggestion.

In the afternoon we had a slight rain. Towards evening a sand storm came from the west. My tent was blown over, and the sand covered everything.

On March 25 we moved again. At 6.18 we set off to the west-northwest and traversed the sand plain of ad-Durūm, on which *arṭa*, *ḥamāt*, *'āder*, and a great deal of *'asansal* grew. A violent west wind was blowing. Our progress was so slow that in one hour we had not covered as much as two kilometers. From 8.00 to 8.20 we rested. At 9.50 we reached the border of the Nāzjet al-Bṭāne, where our camels grazed from 10.10 to 11.35. At twelve o'clock we pitched our tents on the sandy plain Nāzjet al-Ma'ejzīle south of the black and white flat-topped hills Kṡwērāt Tūk.

Two negroes came and delivered a message to Fahad enjoining him to start immediately on a march to the south-east to reinforce Eben Rašīd. The negroes declared that the prince had again defeated Eben Sa'ūd and contemplated a great raid on his territory. At this Nāzel only laughed, for Eben Rašīd was encamped near al-Ġbe', while Eben Sa'ūd had shifted his forces to Marbaṭ al-Faras. The garrisons left by Eben Rašīd at various settlements had either been slaughtered or expelled by the settlers, who were now promiscuously joining Eben Sa'ūd and Fejṣal eben Rašīd in order to avenge the wrongs they had endured. Fahad pleaded lack of pasture and famine threatening his clan and declared that he was moving farther northwest, where there was more rain and the pasture was richer. On the messengers' enquiring as to when he would expel me, he replied that as I was a guest of his clan he could not expel me without forfeiting his honor.

On March 26 we set off at 6.48 in a northwesterly direction. At 7.10 the white plateaus of aš-Šebah were to be seen to the northwest. At 8.06, north of the half-ruined station of Brejċt al-'Aššār,⁹⁹ we crossed the Pilgrim Road formerly known as the Darb Zobejde and now called the Darb as-Sulṭāni, and at 8.30 turned almost due north.

⁹⁹ The Brejċt al-'Aššār lying in the Nāzjet al-Bṭāne is the ancient station of al-Biṭān or, as it was also called, Kabr al-'Ibādi.

At-Ṭabari, *Ta'riḥ* (De Goeje), Ser. 1, pp. 2494 f., informs us that in 638 A.D. Rūzbeh ibn Buzurġamihr ibn Sāsān, native of Hamadān, who joined the Byzantines and built a *kaṣr* and a mosque for Sa'd ibn Mālek, died in a place called Kabr al-'Ibādi. Sa'd had despatched him with a letter to 'Omar, and he had embraced Islam. 'Omar rewarded him,

To the south-southwest Nâzel indicated the point where the Ġebw al-Lûma, a watering spot, was to be found. At 9.15 we saw very distinctly the northern border of ad-Dhana where it merges into al-Heġera, with the Brejċet Ĥamed and a low



FIG. 58—Ġâl Şennâr from the south.

tabular hill to the north above a shallow depression in which lies the Brejċet al-Ĥamra. At 9.23 the Ĥabra ʿAlî and Ummu Rmâh lay to the west-northwest. At 9.44 we pitched a new camp.

In the afternoon we agreed with Fahad as to the contents of the letters which we were to send to Prince ʿAbdalʿazîz eben ʿAbdarrahmân eben Saʿûd. In these the Singâra and ʿAbde were to offer to make peace with him and to request protection against the tribes which might raid them at the instigation of the minister Saʿûd. The letters were to be sealed with the signet rings of the various chiefs and delivered to Eben Saʿûd, together with my communication. Eben Rašîd was encamped with his slaves, soldiers, and the rest of his Šammar adherents near al-Ĥazra on the Darb as-Sultâni; he had therefore re-

allowed him a special income, and sent him back to Saʿd. He was escorted by the ʿIbâdites, who at that time let out their camels to wayfarers. The ʿIbâdites dug a grave and waited for some nomad who would give evidence as to what kind of death Rûzbeh had died, for they feared the caliph ʿOmar. The grave dug by the ʿIbâdites has been called Kabr al-ʿIbâdi ever since. —

The ʿIbâdites inhabited the town of al-Ĥîra and carried on transport business from Irak to Arabia, exactly as the members of the ʿAkejl tribe do in these days.

treated over two hundred kilometers and had quitted al-Ḳa-ṣīm definitely. Not willing to fan a civil war, I asked Eben Sa'ūd not to support Fejṣal and his relatives and to enjoin his tribes to make no raids on the Šammar.

Personally I did not intend to cross Eben Sa'ūd's territory. The scientific object of my travels was to explore the eastern and southern outskirts of the Nefūd and the Pilgrim Road to al-Kūfa, i. e. the southern and eastern borders of the region shown on the map which I had begun on my expeditions in 1908—1909, 1910, and 1912. A journey across Eben Sa'ūd's territory would certainly have brought in new scientific material, but, on the other hand, it would have prevented me from exploring the Pilgrim Road, the accomplishment of which task was much more essential for the completion of my work. Consequently I wished to reach the Euphrates by the Darb Zobejde. Having received the news that the Singāra and 'Abde were about to send their men with several hundred camels for corn to an-Neġef, I immediately resolved to join them. I had both accomplished my scientific mission and secured peace between the Šammar and Eben Sa'ūd, for it was clear that Eben Sa'ūd would make peace with the Šammar clans and receive them under his protection without interfering with their independence. The Šammar were quite indifferent to the war against the English, or Elkrêz, as the Singāra call them. The war was waged by the Turkish Government, with which they had to deal only when out to buy grain and clothing in the towns and settlements on the right bank of the Euphrates. And there the Government was hated still more bitterly than the infidel Elkrêz.

On March 27 we again pressed westwards. At 8.10 the Ḳûr al-Ḥnejfes came into view to the north, and to the west of them we saw the Ġel'ad aṣ-Şlejb, from which the *še'ib* of al-'Elûcîjje extends to the northeast, terminating under the name of Fejhân in the rain pond of Mablât umm ar-Rġâm. To the northeast of the Ḳûr al-Ḥnejfes the valleys of al-Mnašbijjât approach the ruined station of Zubâla on the Pilgrim Road.

Fahad intended to kill a she-camel in my honor and present her to me. If a Singāri kills a camel, he goes to the chief or some other prominent person and invites him to keep the whole animal with skin and flesh for himself. The receiver of the gift distributes the meat among his own relatives and those of the donor. As soon as he captures some camels on

a raid he sends one of them to the person who presented the slaughtered animal to him. The receiver of the gift must sell neither the skin nor the flesh. If he were to do so, nobody would marry his daughter from fear lest her children should be still greater profiteers than her father was. From 8.55 to 9.21 we rested.

With the Singâra the *selef* (band of warriors) rides at the head of the migrating troop only during *sowle wa howle*. *Sowle* denotes migration across a country infested with enemies and *howle* migration at night time, when owing to lack of water the tribe has to march the whole night. At other times, particularly in the days of abundance, the *selef* keeps in the midst of the pack camels (*mezâhîr*).

We were joined by two Aslam who related how they had been regaled in various places, at the same time giving criticisms of their host. Nâzel prayed Allâh to protect him from the evil caused by the presence of such rascals, who are not ashamed to criticize their host. Such guests are called *mutanâšide*. Nâzel's tent was always full of guests. There was scarcely a wayfarer but came to see him for a moment at least. Coffee was served by him at any time of the day; food, however, was rather scant. As this was generally known, the wayfarers put up in other tents, coming to Nâzel's only for coffee.

At 10.10 Fahad assigned a new camping ground. He announced to me his intention of proceeding farther west by quick marches in order to keep his Singâra at a distance from the minister Sa'ûd and his slaves, who were always trying to pick a quarrel in order to precipitate war. Thus in recent days the 'Abde had killed two slaves and the Singâra one slave who had attempted to drive away their wethers for Eben Rašîd. Fahad decided that his subjects who were to fetch supplies of food should set off on the morrow before he had proceeded any farther from the watering station of Lîne, which had been fixed as a meeting place. This expedition, called *al-ḥadra*, we were also to join.

DEPARTURE FROM SINGÂRA CAMP

On March 28, 1915, we left the camp of the Singâra at 7.25. A great number of our friends and acquaintances came to bid us Godspeed. Nâzel's mother again implored me to

keep a vigilant eye on her dear son, his little daughter Môzi begged me to send her beloved father back soon, Fahad acknowledged his thanks for my advice and assistance in the peace negotiations, others voiced their gratitude for medications, etc., and all of them invited me to come and see them again. *Bârak allâh bihom*, may Allâh bless them!

There were some forty of us proceeding towards the watering place of Lîne. From 10.07 to 10.28 we rested. At 10.38 we were on the old Pilgrim Road, Darb Zobejde, and at 11.10 stopped for the rest of the day and night at the camp of a family of the Singâra, at which we expected other wayfarers also to join us. Two elderly men, whose mouths were never closed and who understood absolutely everything, kept foisting themselves on me and Nâzel. The latter prayed that Allâh might turn away from us their mischief (*allâh jakfina šarrahom*) and said to me aside that such is the issue of a Bedouin and a woman from a settlement. The father of the two, an honest Bedouin, had married the daughter of a settler of Ġubba, by whom he had such sons. A boy whose father is a Bedouin and mother a *ḥazarijje* (settler) is called *lûki*. The same name is given to the dog got by a greyhound from an ordinary bitch. "It is a *lûki*, neither a common dog nor a hound (*lûki lâ hu čalb w lâ hu selûki*)." A *lûki* is good for nothing. It does not guard tents and herds like an ordinary dog, nor does it chase hares and gazelles like a greyhound. And the same applies to the son of a Bedouin and a *ḥazarijje*. He shirks raids and does not like to cultivate palms. He keeps on talking and talking and is as aggressive as the yelping *lûki*.

On March 29 we had some rain from 10.00 to 2.04 and from 4.52 to 5.42. There was lightning to the north and northwest. In the morning the sky was completely covered with clouds, and a mild wind blew from the southeast. At 6.55 we continued our journey toward the watering place of Lîne through the desert of ad-Dhana. Columns of rain were to be seen to the east, south, and west. At 9.25 the short *še'ib* of al-Farrâġ lay to our left in al-Heġera. This valley heads near al-Ḥšejbi and terminates in al-Luruf — that is to say, on the confines of al-Heġera and ad-Dhana, the transition from the Nefûd into the stony desert being called *luruf*. From 9.53 to 10.17 our camels grazed.

The name of our new servant, a relative of Nâzel, was Bâjež, meaning traitor or impostor. To my question as to why

his mother had given him such a dishonorable name, Nâzel replied: "Because he had cheated her. She was expecting him several weeks later, when he came without previously announcing his arrival in this world. He took his mother unawares.



FIG. 59—Zbejri eben Mağel (see p. 185).

If one clan attacks another clan without previously declaring hostility, such a clan is called *bâjež*."

From 12.34 to 12.53 our camels grazed. They were as thirsty and jaded as were we ourselves. Nâzel reproached the wind for harming human bodies by blowing from a different quarter every now and again, as it had been doing all morning. At two o'clock we encamped under the rock of al-Rrejre in the basin of al-ʿAwâfi near a small Singâra encampment. Nâzel and Ḥalaf were to stay behind looking after my pitched tent and packs while Bâjež, Nâşer, and I were to go to the watering place of Lîne to water our camels and fill the water bags. We started at 2.33 and at 3.32 reached the wells by the *luruf*. Bâjež lowered himself on a rope into a well about twenty meters deep and filled a leather bucket, which was then raised by Nâşer and emptied into a dish (*şahn*) from which the camels drank. The animals pressed around the water

and could be driven away only by beating. Towards four o'clock a violent sand storm rose from the northwest. We could not keep standing, especially where the smooth rock offered no support. After drinking their fill, the camels were about to scatter in all directions. As I feared that they would fall into some of the wells, I had to drive them together again. The wind seemed to be trying to carry my clothes away, the sand penetrated into my eyes, mouth, and nostrils, and Nāṣer motioned me to go and hold the water bag that he might fill it with water.

CHAPTER VII

LÎNE TO AN-NEĜEF BY THE PILGRIM ROAD

LÎNE TO FEJẒAT SA'ÛD

At 4.50 we departed from the wells, at 5.08 the storm abated, and at 5.41 we reached our tent, which had been blown over. Everything was covered with a layer of sand, while Ḥalaf and Nâzel were seated in a crack near the rock of al-Ṙrejre where they had found shelter from the storm. As our other companions, who were en route to the market at an-Neĝef, had gone down into the depression of al-Mu'adda to the north of Lîne where all were assembling, we had to clean our packs, load them up, and follow the rest. At 6.20 we resumed our march and at 10.08 made camp near the others, for whom we had had to make a lengthy search.

On March 30 we departed from al-Mu'adda at five o'clock and proceeded to the northeast. The whole *ḥadra*, or caravan going down (to the Euphrates), was led by Râšed, a slave, and by Zbejri eben Ma'ĝel (Fig. 59), a chief from the 'Amârât tribe who was to protect us against his countrymen. Râšed had been despatched by the minister Sa'ûd in the middle of February with orders to fetch the camels of some Šlejb, which might be used by the commissariat of his army for some time. Accompanied by a few other slaves and by Zbejri, Râšed looked for the Šlejb in vain. The Šlejb had learned of the object of his expedition and had scattered into the desert. Finally he came across a fairly large camp in aš-Šubeče, but no men and no camels were to be found there. The women asserted that they did not know where the men had gone. Thereupon the slaves settled down in the camp, and Râšed announced his intention of thrashing the women, one by one, until the men came back. The shrieks of the maltreated women could be heard at a considerable distance. When the eighth woman had been thrashed the men returned with thirty-two camels, which Râšed requisitioned for Eben Rašîd; in addition, he robbed the wretched Šlejb of fifty goats, induced one man to act as guide, and returned to his master.

Râšed, the slave, did not altogether care for the minister

Sa'ûd. He praised Zâmel, the minister's uncle, who had been killed, and he was sorry for Ibrâhîm, this uncle's brother, who was imprisoned at Hâjel. Zâmel had married the mother of the prince and had had by her a son, whom two months previously the minister Sa'ûd had also ordered to be killed.

At 7.10 the shallow valley of al-Hamîr lay to the north, and on a knoll above it the large Riġm Bender was to be seen. From 8.42 to 9.12 we rested. At 10.38 we crossed al-Ķaṭṭâr (farther north called at-Turmuzijje), an old Pilgrim Road running from the settlement of as-Samâwa in Irak by way of Selmân and Lîne to at-Ta'labijje. The section from Lîne to at-Ta'labijje has been abandoned; at Lîne, however, this old road is joined by al-Ḥall, a road connecting al-Ḳašîm with Irak.

At 11.42 we were passing through the depression of al-Rurâbijjât. After two o'clock we rode through the *še'ibân* of al-Minterîs, which unite with the *še'ib* of al-Ḥşejbi.

At the end of the latter valley the half-ruined station of Brejċt al-Ḥşejbi lies on the northern edge of al-Ġrajba; farther southwest the watering place of al-Jehfûf is to be found. Both of these points are touched by the al-Ķaṭṭâr (or at-Turmuzijje) road, which runs north-northeast from the station of Brejċt al-Ḥşejbi to the stations of Ġawḥa and 'Â'a on the plain Fejzat al-Ḥârîġijje, where it splits. One branch, the Drejb al-Ḥâjef, continues in the same direction as far as the settlement of as-Samâwa, while the other branch, the Darb Selmân, turns to the north to the wells of Selmân,¹⁰⁰ whence, under the name of Darb al-'Amûde, it too leads to as-Samâwa.

From Selmân the Darb as-Sejjed road runs to ar-Ruḥbe and al-Kûfa. To the north of 'Â'a both the Drejb al-Ḥâjef and the Darb Selmân ascend the escarpment of Hkeġ Wâkşa, or al-Hkeġ, and wind through the rolling land of al-Ḥarše. To the east the Hkeġ Wâkşa ends near the Kârt al-Ķabd and Kârt aş-Şibe, at the bases of which water is to be found in the Turbân al-Mġaddar, Ḥabâri Ķabd, Daḥal Zorrobî, and at the old watering place and pilgrim station of at-Taḥâdid. The well of al-Wķûba lies between 'Â'a and the Kârt al-Ķabd. To the north of aş-Şibe rises the mesa Kârt az-Zumm from which the run-off drains into the Ḥabâri-l-Ķarâjen. The watering place of Selmân lies in a basin bounded by the scarp of al-'Awġa to the south and to the north by the eminence Hazîmt al-Waşšâš, beyond which the Fejzat aş-Şâwîjje unfolds. Along the western outskirts of this *fejza* the ruins and wells of al-Ḥanâni lie along the Darb as-Sejjed.

¹⁰⁰ As-Sakûni (Jâġût, *Muġam* [Wüstenfeld], Vol. 3, p. 121; Vol. 4, p. 425) records that as-Salmân is a station between 'Aġn Şajd, Wâķiṣa, and al-'Aķaba. From as-Salmân to 'Aġn Şajd two marches are measured, and to al-'Aķaba the distance is the same. Wâķiṣa lies nearer to Irak. As-Salmân is said to be an ancient watering station dating back to the pre-Mohammedan era; close by is the grave of Nawfal, son of 'Abdmanâf. Before the Prophet's time a road from Irak to Tihâma passed through these parts. There the tribe of Bekr ibn Wâ'il and other clans of the Rabî'a had an idol called al-Muḥarrek. Every clan — as, for example, the 'Aneze or the 'Amr Ruġeila — devoted a boy to this idol; this boy received the name of al-Muḥarrek.

At three o'clock the first perennials (*šağar*) were to be seen. At 3.45 to the northeast of the pilgrim station of aš-Šihijjât we discovered a gully much overgrown with *rûte*; hence we spent the night there (Fig. 60).



FIG. 60—Environs of aš-Šihijjât.

In aš-Šihijjât¹⁰¹ there are the ruins of a modest settlement and a few reservoirs half choked with rubbish.

¹⁰¹ 'Omâra ibn 'Aqil (al-Bekri, *Mu'ğam* [Wüstenfeld], p. 536) employs the name of aš-Šiħa to denote a sandy waste between which and the elevations of al-Hazn the hillock of Mulejħa rises.

As-Sakûni (Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 346) states that aš-Šiħa is a well-known watering place one day and one night march to the east of Fejd, near the watering place called al-Kejşûma on the confines of a sand desert; according to Naşr, Dât aš-Šiħ lies in al-Hazn within the territory of the Beni Jarbû'.

The situation indicated for aš-Šiħa by 'Umâra and for Dât aš-Šiħ by Naşr, corresponds with that of our watering place of aš-Šihijjât, as al-Hazn extends to the north of it. It is difficult to say whether or not as-Sakûni means the same watering place when speaking of aš-Šiħa. At one day and one night march from Fejd to the east the outskirts of the sand desert are reached. Both *ših* and *kejşûm*, from which the two watering places derive their names, thrive on the borders of stony and sandy deserts.

Aš-Šihijjât is identical with the pilgrim station of aš-Şukûk. The caliph Abu Ğa'far al-Manşûr (754—775) traveled to Mecca by way of Zubâla and ar-Radm, where he was met by the Bedouins. When he had got beyond aš-Şukûk, he rode on horseback and refused to enter an enclosed litter while the heat was at its greatest. (Abu-l-Farağ, *Aṛāni* [Bûlâk, 1285 A.H.J., Vol. 3, p. 39.)

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 790, records that the rain pond of ar-Radm lies between aš-Şukûk and Zubâla, six miles from the latter. Another rain pond, built by the sultan, is to be found farther south. According to Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 309, the station of aš-Şukûk is the property of the Beni Salâme clan of the Asad tribe and lies beyond Wâķiṣa, before Biṭān and Kabr al-'Ibâdi.

Al-Iṣṭahri, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 23, means the desert of ad-Dhana when he says that a sand desert stretches between the station of aš-Şukûk and al-Ağfor. These points indicate its breadth, while its length is defined by the two mountain ranges of the Tajj tribe and the eastern sea. The sand is yellow and as fine as dust.

Ibn Hawkal, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), pp. 30, 104, states that some points of this sand desert shift their place, while others remain stationary.

On March 31 at 4.18 we were again in the saddle. At five o'clock the west wind increased in violence. From 5.15 to 5.38 we rested in the *še'ib* of Ab-ar-Rwât, which terminates at the base of the Ḥķej al-Kṣâš. At 5.48 we entered the Pilgrim Road, Darb Zobejde (or Darb as-Sitt Zobejde) near the Brejēt al-'Aṣâfir, an artificially built pond. This pond is half choked-up with sand.

FEJZAT SA'ÛD TO ĠĀL AL-BATĒN

At 8.30 we found ourselves in the depression of Fejzat Sa'ûd, just where the *še'ib* of Mnašbijjet umm Se'ira enters it from the southwest. At 8.55 Mnašbijjet umm Ṭurḃân lay to our left. From 9.05 to 9.35 we rested.

At this point Zbejri informed us that at the gardens of al-Ġa'âra (or, as they are called by the Government, Abu Ṣhêr) the dam (*al-mazrâk*) which should have protected the lowland south of an-Neġef from floods, had given way and as a result the Euphrates had inundated the low ground and formed a large lake that we should have to avoid.

At 10.40 we passed through the dry watercourse of Mnašbijjet umm Šaḥûf and at eleven o'clock arrived at Zubâla.

The station of Zubâla lies on an eminence about five meters above the level of the surrounding country. In its southwestern outskirts there stand the ruins of a square fort with a round tower at each corner and one in the middle of each wall. The fort is surrounded by a spacious court, also enclosed by high walls. To the north the court adjoins a settlement, the houses of which lie in ruins. In a fairly large basin north of the settlement there are two ample cisterns and northwest of them two extensive rain ponds. The southern pond is half filled with débris, but the northern one is much larger and is still comparatively deep. These are fed with water from the *še'ib* of Mnašbijjet umm Šaḥûf, which enters the basin. *Āķûl*, *'ačreš*, *'erž*, *roṛol*, *slejla*, *ṭurâm*, *zamrân*, and *sidr* trees grow there. Many fragments of green earthenware can be found in the ruins.¹⁰²

¹⁰² Ibn Roste, *A'lâl* (De Goeje), p. 175, states that Zubâla is an important inhabited settlement with several market places, plenty of water, and a large rain pond in a valley in which rain water remains even in the dry season.

In January, 925 A.D., the Carmathians occupied the environs of the station of Zubâla, defeated the soldiers who protected the pilgrims, and robbed a procession of Persians, of whom but very few saved themselves by fleeing to al-Kûfa ('Arīb, *Šila* [De Goeje], pp. 123 f.).

In October, 935, Abu Ṭāher, lord of the Carmathians, despatched his commander to Zubâla to attack a large caravan of pilgrims returning from Mecca. His orders were carried

The Pilgrim Road of az-Zobejdijje (Darb as-Sitt Zobejde, or Darb Zobejde) is 24 meters wide. Stones have been collected and piled up into two walls which enclose the road to the east and west. At places these walls are built quite artistically (Fig. 61). Nowhere did I discover any milestones, although I kept a keen watch for them.

From 12.10 to 12.36 we rested. Then we traversed the Nhejrîr al-Hejra, a flat plain, above the level of which limestone formations rose some four meters. At 3.08 there emerged to the northwest the table mountain Kârt ar-Rafha, behind which lay the wells of Lowka, ar-Rowz, and Umm al-ʿAwâ-žil. At 3.28 Nâzel drew my attention to a large *riġm* (pile of stones) fifteen kilometers to the east of us, under which the artificial rain pond Barbak Ġilbâh is to be found. The Šammar employ the term *barbak* for the same kind of pond that is called *maĥfûr* by the Rwala. At four o'clock we reached a large depression at the base of the escarpment of al-Ġrejsi and made camp near the pond of al-Ġumejma. This pond, surrounded by strong walls and still perfectly preserved, was full of rain water. We drew some water for our camels and refilled our water bags. In the evening we determined the latitude.

On April 1 we started at 4.10 and proceeded across a bare plain covered with small shingle on which *ših* grows only in the swales. At 4.40 the west wind grew so violent that we were constantly exposed to the risk of having our cloaks blown

out between the stations of Zubâla and al-ʿAkaba. Part of the pilgrims made good their escape and hastened to the station of al-ʿOdejb, but Abu Tâher, who had marched from Haffân to al-Kâdesijje, turned southwards when he reached the latter point and robbed the fugitives at al-ʿOdejb. (Al-Masʿûdi, *Tanbih* [De Goeje], pp. 389 f.)

Al-Mukaddasi, *Ahsan* (De Goeje), pp. 253 f., describes the station of Zubâla as an inhabited fort with several notable wells hollowed out in the rock. Numerous nomads used to assemble there, offering hay for sale to pilgrims. Many of the pilgrims used to leave part of their stores at this station and were glad to return to it again safe and sound.

Ibn Ġubejr (*Rihla* [De Goeje], p. 208) visited the station of az-Zubâla (with article). It was an inhabited village with a fortified building such as is erected by nomads, with two large rain ponds and several wells.

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 912, states that the well-known station of Zubâla is an inhabited settlement with several market places between Wâķiṣa and at-Taʿlabijje. As-Sakûni reports that it lies beyond the station of al-Kâʿ, or aš-Sukûk, in the direction of Mecca; in his time a fort and a *ġameʿ* (cathedral mosque) belonging to the Beni Râdera of the Beni Asad were there. Bedouins were heard speaking of a battle at some time fought in this village. In the direction of aš-Sukûk, within six miles of Zubâla, there was at one time the rain pond of ar-Raġm and to the west of it it the Birket as-Sultân (*ibid.*, p. 790).

The station of Zubâla was an inhabited settlement with a fortified house belonging to the nomads, two rain ponds, and several wells. So writes Ibn Baṭṭûta (*Tuhfa* [Defrémery and Sanguinetti], Vol. 1, p. 412) about the end of 1328 in his verbatim copy of the report made by Ibn Ġubejr, who visited this station in the spring of 1184.

To the north of Zubâla Naṣr mentions a locality called al-Bajḍatân, locating it between Mecca and Syria (Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 794).

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, p. 875, records the difficult ascent up at-Tanânîr opposite the station of Zubâla. According to other authorities at-Tanânîr is a fairly fertile valley belonging to the Beni Salâme and Beni Râdera between Zubâla and aš-Sukûk, in which pilgrims used to take their evening meal by the rain pond Birket as-Sultân when the Pilgrim Road still ran past there.

off. At 6.20 we reached the escarpment of the H̱ej al-Ḵs̱s̱, in ascending which three terraces must be scaled. On the ledge forming the top of each terrace *rûte* was found growing. At 6.20 Nâzel pointed out the Barĉet at-Tlejma, about two kilometers to the south of us. This is the old station of al-Ḵâ.¹⁰³



FIG. 61—Pilgrim Road of az-Zobejdijje near Zubâla.

At 7.40 we reached the Barĉet al-Hejġam.¹⁰⁴ Southwest of the ruined fort lies a pond some two hundred meters long by one hundred and fifty meters wide, extending from north to south. Northeast of the fort there are two choked cisterns and beyond these two large ponds, the more southerly of which is almost filled with *débris*. Northwest of the old fort stands another small stronghold built by Prince Muḥammad eben Rašîd.

At nine o'clock we saw to the north the scarp Ġâl al-Baṭen, which is continued farther to the southeast as the Ġâl ar-Rwâḵ (Fig. 62). This escarpment bounded the horizon like a lofty wall extending all the way from northwest to east of us. Another sand storm arose from the west. From 9.10 to 9.45 we rested behind a few low crags near a clump of *ṭalh* trees. We then rode through the Ḵart al-Ḥamra, low flat-topped hills. At 10.55 we reached the Barĉt al-ʿAmjaʿ in the Ḵâ as-Semel. This *barĉe* is a large old rain pond which was restored and cleaned by Muḥammad eben Rašîd. The water is reached by three steps on the north side. To the northeast of al-ʿAmjaʿ there rise the hills of al-Žetab, at the base of which we found *zamrân*.

¹⁰³ Al-Muḥaddasi, *op. cit.*, p. 253, states that the settlement of al-Ḵâ, which flourished at one time and was densely peopled, is utterly ruined. A well of spring water is all that has remained of it.

Jākūt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 17, records that the station of al-Ḵâ lies between al-ʿAḵaba and Zubâla and is disputed by the Asad and Tajj tribes.

¹⁰⁴ Jākūt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 998; Vol. 2, p. 68, writes that the fort of al-Hajġam, built by Umm Ġaʿfar (Zobejde, wife of Harun ar-Rashid) and provided with a cistern, lies on the Pilgrim Road within six miles of al-Ḵâ in the direction of al-Gurejsi and Zubâla. The fort with the cistern of al-Gurejsi was two miles from al-Hajġam and eleven miles from Zubâla.

We were accompanied by some forty women, both old and young, of the Aslam tribe. The women of this tribe tend camels, goats, and sheep and purchase grain and articles of apparel in the cultivated territories, while the men restrict their activities to raids, robbery, and lounging in tents. Each woman was seated on a bolster (*lebîd*) placed behind the pack saddle (*hedâġe*). The women goaded their camels and heaped vile language on everyone who tried to force his way among them.

From 12.40 onwards we were slowly descending. At 1.06 the Brejċt az-Zefîri, a half-choked-up rain pond, lay to the right of our route. At two o'clock we reached the depression of al-Baġen; this is enclosed on the south by the moderate declivity of az-Zefîri and on the north by the steep escarpment Ġâl al-Baġen, which is about fifty meters high.

The Ġâl al-Baġen extends from northwest to southeast and, viewed from the south, presents the appearance of a high line of cliffs bounding an imposing plateau. The same impression is also conveyed by the Hġej Wâġṣa, which extends almost parallel with the Ġâl al-Baġen¹⁰⁵ to the northeast of the latter.

At 2.50 we arrived at the foot of the escarpment Ġâl al-Baġen and began to climb it. First the ascent was very gradual, but later on, where the road is cut through solid rock, our camels could hardly move. The way is full of boulders which have been forced out of the vertical face of the rock

¹⁰⁵ Ancient writers mention under the name of al-Ĥazn the two upland tracts bounded by these escarpments.

Abu 'Obejda employs the name of Ĥazn Beni Jarbû' for the elevation north of Zubâla (Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 260).

Ibn al-Fakîh, *Buldân* (De Goeje), p. 31, states that al-Ĥazn is constituted by the elevated portion of Neġd north of Zubâla. He cites Abu Sa'îd ad-Darîr as referring to three *ḥuzûn* (stony uplands), namely: Ĥazn Beni Ġa'de of the Rabi'a, Ĥazn Beni Jarbû', and Ĥazn Beni Râdera. In al-Ĥazn lies the watering place of Wâġṣa north of Zubâla. This station is also called Wâġṣat al-Ḥuzûn, as it is all surrounded by stony uplands. — Ibn al-Fakîh's al-Ĥazn is our Ġâl al-Baġen.

According to Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 414, 665; Vol. 2, p. 261; Vol. 3, p. 774, Ĥazn Beni Jarbû' denotes an upland between al-Kûfa and Fejd. From a distance it looks very high; however, if a traveler proceeds along the Pilgrim Road, he does not notice the gradient. On genial spring days the Arabs are fond of camping in the depressions on al-Ĥazn, in the neighborhood of aṣ-Ṣammân in winter and near aṣ-Saraf in summer. Garîr, a poet of the Beni Jarbû', mentions aṣ-Sahba, Fejhân, al-Ĥazn, aṣ-Ṣammân, and al-Wakaf, all camping grounds. — Fejhân is the river basin of the *ṣe'ib* of Fejhân, which to the west of the Pilgrim Road borders upon the tract of al-Ĥazn, while the other camping grounds lie east of the Pilgrim Road and have retained their ancient names down to this day.

Al-Aṣma'i (Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 261) also knew of a *ḥazn* which belonged to the Kalb tribe. — This *ḥazn* means the northwestern edge of al-Ĥazn proper, situated within the region called al-Ḥzûl (al-Ḥuzûn) today, which was part of the ancient Kalb territory.

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 774, mentions the depression of al-Rabiċ, enclosed by steep slopes, within the territory of the Beni Jarbû'. He cites Naṣr as saying that the undulating plain of Ĥazn Beni Jarbû' lies between Fejd and al-Kûfa. It is said to be three marches wide and to be traversed by the winding valleys of al-Rabiċ, Ijâd, Du Tulûh, and Du Karrit. In al-Rabiċ, which is also called Rabiċ al-Madara or Rabiċ al-Firdaws, the Beni Jarbû' won a great victory over the Bekr tribe.

and remain in the road, as there is nobody there to remove them. At 3.17 we reached the plateau surface, here covered with coarse shingle, among which hardly any vegetable life is to be met with. Only in swales we discovered *ših*, *kejšum*, *‘addām*, *zamrān*, and *rûte*. To the right of the path, in the ravine of aš-Še‘eb on the very edge of the plateau, a dam, which still retained some rain water, could be seen. At 4.12 we encamped in al-‘Oķoba, a pilgrim station. In its southwestern part there is a restored pond, near which we discovered a well about twenty-five *bā‘* (c. 50 m.) deep. This still yielded water. Two other wells are to be found farther east, and to the north of these yet another well and a pond. East of the pond lie the ruins of a fortified settlement, adjoined on the northwest by a square fort with a well by its eastern wall.¹⁰⁶

The upland plain between the Ğāl al-Baṭen and the Hkeĵ Wākṣa is called al-Basiṭa¹⁰⁷ to the north of al-‘Oķoba, al-Ĥariġiĵe farther south-east, and al-Ĥwāra farther northwest.

Above the general level of al-Ĥwāra there rise the two low mesas of al-Ĥalājež. Southeast of al-‘Oķoba and west of the Darb at-Turmuziĵe (or al-Kaṭṭār) the watering place of ‘Ajdaĥa and the Žaltat Rôrût lie in the Fejzat al-Ĥariġiĵe.

We determined the latitude.

ĞĀL AL-BATĒN TO AŠ-ŠUBEĖĖ

On April 2 we resumed our march at 4.30, proceeding across the plain of al-Basiṭa. At 5.20 the basin in which lies the well Želib al-Bowbeĥi, thirty-five *bā‘* (c. 70 m.) deep, lay about six kilometers west of us. At 6.30 we saw a high cairn

¹⁰⁶ Al-Muķaddasi, *op. cit.*, p. 253, records that deep wells of spring water were situated near the ruined station of al-‘Aķaba.

According to Jākūt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 692, the station of al-‘Aķaba lay south of Wākṣa, or, according to others south of al-Kā‘. It belonged to the Beni ‘Ekrima of the Bekr ibn Wā‘il tribe and had plenty of water.

Jākūt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 46, locates the half-ruined tombs of al-Karāri, or al-Farāri, between al-‘Aķaba and Wākṣa. Abu-l-Faḍā‘il, *Marāšid* (Juynboll), Vol. 2, p. 394, writes al-Karāri.

¹⁰⁷ At the beginning of the rainy season of 634 A.D. Sa‘d ibn Abi Waķķāš, who had set out to conquer Irak, encamped with his Moslems at Zerūd and waited until all his warriors had assembled there. Then he despatched a band composed of the members of the Tamim, ar-Rebāb, and Asad tribes to the borders of their territories to guard the frontier between al-Ĥazn and al-Basiṭa. (At-Ṭabari, *Ta‘riĥ* [De Goeje], Ser. 1, p. 2221.)

In 684–685 beyond the station of Wākṣa a man traveling by the plain of al-Basiṭa from the Ĥeġāz to al-Kūfa met Muĥtār ibn Abi ‘Obejda, the deposed governor, whom the caliph Yazid had banished to the Ĥeġāz (*ibid.*, Ser. 2, p. 523).

Jākūt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 627, writes that al-Basiṭa is a locality between al-Kūfa and the elevation Ĥazn Beni Jarbū‘, or, according to other reports, a tract of country between al-‘Odejb and al-Kā‘. In the same direction, but rather nearer al-‘Odejb, there stretches the country of al-Bēda. — Al-Bēda, or, as pronounced by the Rwala, al-Bēza, is the name of the plain that unfolds to the north of Wākṣa.

of heaped-up stones (*nšâb*) rising to the northeast of us by the grave of Bender, a chief of the Zmejł clan of the Tûmân tribe, who died in his tent pitched on that very place. In front of the grave there is a small hollow for water and a deep fireplace in which Bender used to have his coffee prepared. When the Zmejł camp in the vicinity in the autumn, Zejd, Bender's brother, brews coffee by his grave and treats every one who happens to pass by.

At 8.20 we left the Pilgrim Road and turned to the north-west. The Šammar were afraid of the *šwâja*, rearers of goats and sheep, and farmers of the right bank of the Euphrates, who were then camping with their flocks near the wells of Šerâf and Wâkša.

The well of Wâkša lies at the southern end and Šerâf at the head of the gully through which the Pilgrim Road climbs the escarpment of H̱kej Wâkša.¹⁰⁸

The plain of al-Basîta is perfectly level and covered with dark-brown flints. At 8.50 the pond Barĉt al-Ĥamedî lay to the east of us on the Pilgrim Road. Northeast of this pond Chief Zbejrî showed me a pile of stones indicating the location of the well of al-Ġill and southeast of it another cairn leading to the well of aš-Šubrum. After nine o'clock a number of flat-topped knolls about ten meters high and known as al-ʿAtâmîn rose into view in the foreground. These knolls are the last remnants of a higher stratum which has succumbed to erosion. The Ḵwêrât al-Ĥwejmât, a group of similar white hills spotted with black, emerged to the northwest. After eleven o'clock we slowly descended to the north. At 11.10 the hillocks of al-ʿAtâmîn lay to our right. These are not of solid rock but are merely large heaps of soft chalk mixed with flints. At 11.20 we saw the Abraḡ al-Farsâd to the northwest. At this *abraḡ* (rock partly covered with sand) the escarpment H̱kej Wâkša, towards which the plain of al-Basîta slopes, comes to an end.

After one o'clock the steep slope of H̱kej Wâkša shut in the horizon. It reveals four horizontal layers of soft chalk, in which numerous shallow holes and grottoes were to be seen. The lowland skirting the southern base of this escarpment is

¹⁰⁸ In the name "al-H̱kej" we find the present form of the ancient *al-ḥakw*, of which *al-ḥkej* is a diminutive.

According to Jākūt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 300, al-Ḥakw is a watering spot twelve miles from Wākša in the direction of al-ʿAḡaba. A well fifty *bâ* (c. 100 m.) deep with a small quantity of bad water is to be found there. The water has a sulphurous smell. A cistern and a ruined fort lie close by.

also called al-Baṭen. From 2.00 to 2.30 we rested at the very foot of the scarp west of the wells of Wākṣa, north of which Šerâf is situated in a ravine. At Šerâf the wells are seven to eight *bâ* (c. 14–16 m.), at Wākṣa seventeen *bâ* (c. 34 m.) deep.



FIG. 62—Ġâl ar-Rwâk from the south.

Northwest of our way lay the watering place Ġaw Rmejt. The ascent of the escarpment by the gully of Umm Tenijje was so easy that we reached the top almost without exertion. At 3.45 we made camp in the depression of ar-Rûṭijje northwest of Šerâf. The west wind abated somewhat at seven o'clock, and the night was cool.

On April 3 we resumed our march at four o'clock. At first we proceeded north-northeast across the bare and sterile plain of Abu Hwejme. At 5.40 we turned slightly to the west in order to avoid the elevated ar-Radîfe, at the northern base of which lies the ruined Barċt al-Ĥarâb. At six o'clock the basin of aš-Šubeċe, eroded by many gullies, stretched before us. Hundreds of wells from two to four meters deep into which rain water drains can be found here hollowed out in the soft ground. The wells are likely to cave in and must be cleaned once or even several times a year. Each is surrounded by heaps of red clay in which herdsmen hollow out tub-shaped holes. Such a well is called *'akla*. A man descends into it and fills a leather bucket with water; another man hauls him out and empties the water into one of the tub-shaped holes, from which the camels drink. Nowhere in inner

Arabia have I seen such large heaps of clay around wells. These wells lie in groups extending from the west in the following order: ar-Rabḍa, aš-Šwêtên, and as-Siĉer. The last mark the termination of the basin Ġufrat (or Ġaw) aš-Šu-



FIG. 63—Aš-Šwêtên.

beĉe.¹⁰⁹ At eight o'clock we reached the group of the wells of aš-Šwêtên and watered our camels (Fig. 63). The water content of the various wells was very poor.

AŠ-ŠUBEĈE TO AN-NEĖEF

At 9.35 we departed from aš-Šubeĉe. An abundance of *dabra* grows about the gullies there.

The Darb as-Sultâni of today leads from the wells of Šerâf to the wells of as-Siĉer and thence to the Barĉt at-Ṭalhât, a pond lying within ten kilometers southwest of the ruined

¹⁰⁹ As-Sakûni (Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 248) states that aš-Šibâk lies within seven miles of Wâķiṣa. A man starting from this point before sunrise reaches al-Ġuwej in the middle of the forenoon. It is said that aš-Šibâk is also called aš-Šubejka. — This Šibâk, or aš-Šubejka, is identical with our aš-Šubeĉe, although the distance far exceeds seven miles. Al-Ġuwej (diminutive of Ġaw; not Ġuwejj as it is printed, *ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 166) must be sought in the 'Aġlat Mešhen.

Jâkût, *loc. cit.*, and Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *Marâṣid* (Juynboll), Vol. 2, p. 147, fix the location of the rain pond of Šubejb in relation to the situation of al-Ġuwej. It is said that the locality of Šubejb also used to be called Šabīb. — In my opinion this Šabīb is a wrong transcription of Šammit. The first *b* is due to the dialectic interchange with *m*, the other *b* probably being the result of a misspelling of the terminal *t*. Aš-Šammit lies to the west, or, more exactly, to the northwest of Wâķiṣa. Jâkût himself provides evidence that aš-Šammit is identical with Šabīb when he states (*op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 357) that Laṣaf is a rain pond west of the Pilgrim Road to Mecca between al-Murīṭa and al-'Aķaba and within three miles of Šabīb, west of Wâķiṣa. Laṣaf is the modern watering place of al-Loṣof, about five kilometers from aš-Šammit, a distance which fully corresponds with the distance from Laṣaf to Šabīb. Probably a road led from Wâķiṣa by aš-Šubeĉe, 'Aġlat Mešhen (al-Ġuwej), aš-Šammit, and Laṣaf to 'Ajn at-Tamr and Syria.

pilgrim station of al-Msejġed, which is on the old Darb Zobejde in the plain of al-Bêza, south of al-Ĥammâm.

We were traversing the dark-gray plain Fejzat al-Ġemâ'ijje, on which *ših* grows here and there. After 12.30 we followed the road Darb al-Ĥšûni, which runs from an-Neġef to as-Siċer; the ruined pilgrim station of al-Ġar'a lay due east of us on the Darb Zobejde. South of it are as-Smê'a (a cistern built of masonry), the Ĥabra al-Ĥabijje, the well of Lowza, and the ruined stations of al-Mafreġ and Barċt al-Ĥarâb. At 2.10 we arrived at two low hillocks called al-Ġranên and saw the Barċt at-Ṭalhât to the east. At 3.25 we passed the table-topped hill of al-Mġêles, where there are ruins of an ancient structure and sixteen small heaps of stones. To the east Nâzel pointed out the al-Msejġed ruins.

Discussing here matters of topography, both Nâzel and Zbejri expressed the opinion that Neġd extends as far as an-Neġef; thence, they said, its boundary runs towards at-Ṭuġ-ṭuġâne, and thence along the northwestern watershed of Wâdi al-Ĥerr to al-Bwejtât and the northern border of the Nefûd, and along this to the oasis of Tejma. Tejma is still in Neġd; al-Ĥeġâz begins to the west of Tejma. So they asserted.

We searched for pasture, but on the plain of al-Bêza there were no annuals and the perennials had been cropped. At last we made camp at 5.20. Our camels were ravenous.

On April 4 we started at two o'clock and followed the right bank of the *še'ib* of at-Ṭalhât. At five o'clock the head of the *še'ib* of Ummu-s-Sbâ' lay on our right to the east and, beyond it, the station of al-Mrîte. We next entered the *še'ib* of Abu Ṭalh. At 5.50 we observed three men on horseback, who watched us and soon disappeared. Undoubtedly they were sentries of the Beni Selâme *šwâja* (goat and sheep breeders), who have their camps between aš-Šubeċe and the Euphrates. As we had no one to take us under his protection and did not know whether or not they would attack us, we instantly prepared for an engagement. All the men armed with rifles grouped into a company and rode in our van and along our flanks. At six o'clock we left Abu Ṭalh and saw the deep *še'ib* of al-Ĥeseb on our left. The ruined fort and station of Ummu Krûn lay to the east. From 7.00 to 7.46, while in the plain Fejzat at-Ṭalhât (Fig. 64), Râsed counted the camels and levied a fee of a quarter of a *meġġidijje* (23 cents) on each. Altogether there were 528 camels. The money collected

was to be employed in paying the *raġġâl aš-šujûh* (mercenaries of the head chief) and the patrons whom we wished to select from the Beni Selâme.

From the undulating Fejzat aṭ-Ṭalhât, which we were traversing alongside the wide *še'ib* of al-Ḥeseb, gullies of



FIG. 64—Our caravan in the plain Fejzat aṭ-Ṭalhât.

appreciable depth run to the channel. To the west the low hillocks of al-Ġirtmi were to be seen. At 9.27 in a gully to our right we discovered water in some *temâjel* (shallow holes in the gravel of a channel).

At 12.10 we were held up by a number of warriors of the Beni Selâme (Fig. 65) who would not permit us to pass through their territory without their consent. Left and right, men, rifles in hand, were to be seen approaching in groups. As we would not and could not force a passage by violence, we entered into negotiations and resumed our march at two o'clock. We were accompanied by Srâġ eben Ma'ajdil, brother of Chief 'Elâk, and another man, who were to protect us against the Beni Selâme and Raẓâlât clans. At three o'clock we descended into the deep *še'ib* of al-Ḥeseb (Fig. 66), the channel in which is about twenty-five meters wide. In this channel grow bushes of *lwêze*.

The *še'ib* of al-Ḥeseb rises at the western extremity of the escarp-

ment Ġāl al-Baṭen between the mesa of Lumejma to the west, those of al-Bêzatên to the east, and the plains of as-Selmâniye and Ummu-r-Rġâm to the south. At its head are the wells of al-Lîfiyye, north of these the subterranean cave and water Daḥl Mšejžîž and rain pond Ksêr Ḥeseb, and west of the last named the wells of al-Ma'âniyye.¹¹⁰

Al-Ḥeseb runs to the northeast and near the Ḳwêrât al-Ġibrîtiyyât bounds the escarpment of Ḥķej Wākša on the west. Farther north it traverses the plains of al-Megâmer, Abu Ḥwejme, and al-Ġemâ'îyye. Between al-Megâmer and al-Ġemâ'îyye 'Aqlat Mešhen lies east of the Habra Sejkal. Beyond the Kârt al-Ġirtmi and 'Akkâš the še'îb of al-Ḥeseb¹¹¹ turns almost due east and disappears in alluvial deposits near al-Kâdesiyye.

At 5.27 the desolate plain of al-Metâha came into view to the east, and to the west the tabular hills of 'Akkâš emerged from the mist. At six o'clock we encamped by the channel of al-Ḥeseb near a round hole full of rain water. Such a round hole along a river bed is called *ḥefna*.

On April 5 we started at 4.15. The strong northwest wind that had blown all through the night subsided at five o'clock. At 5.18 we reached the head of the še'îb of al-Amêleḥ and ascended to a plateau from which a panoramic view could be obtained of all the settlements extending as far as an-Neġef. We were traversing a level tract of country covered with gravel. To the northwest we saw the wide mouth of the še'îb of Abu Ḥamsât issuing from the low white mesas of 'Akkâš, which at six o'clock lay to the west. Beyond the še'îb to the northwest we saw the steep scarp Târ as-Šejhed that encloses on the north the flood plain of Wâdi al-Ḥerr. At 6.40 a clump of *etel* trees was to be seen close by the wells of al-Waššâšât. West of these the farm Kašr ar-Ruhbân had been rebuilt and was again occupied. At seven o'clock we found ourselves within the zone of at-Taḥf¹¹² (i. e. the zone where the desert meets the fertile alluvial deposits of the Euphrates) at the Ḥesw 'Obejd (Fig. 67), a basin covered with a layer of silt

¹¹⁰ As-Sakûni says that the well of al-Ma'âniyye was sunk west of the station of al-Murîta by order of Ma'n ibn Aws. According to al-Ḥâzemi the wells of al-Ma'âniyye are about two marches from al-Kâdesiyye between al-Kûfa and Syria. They derive their name from Ma'n ibn Zâjeda as-Šejbânî. (Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 580; Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 124.) — These data are approximately true.

¹¹¹ Abu 'Amr, the poet, says that the valley of Du Ḥusum rises in a desert and terminates in palm groves (al-Bekri, *Mu'jam* [Wüstenfeld], p. 295). — This Du Ḥusum must be recognized in our Ḥeseb, *b* frequently replacing *m*.

¹¹² Al-Aḥṭal, *Diwân* (Salhani), p. 103, mentions at-Taḥf, the confines of Irak between the inhabited territory and the desert.

In 635 Yezdegerd wrote to all the kings who had forts in at-Taḥf, informing them that the Arabs had encamped at al-Kâdesiyye (at-Tabari, *Ta'riḥ* [De Goeje], Ser. 1, p. 2247). Al-Ḥusejn was slain in at-Taḥf or near it (*ibid.*, p. 3471; Ser. 2, p. 376).

Al-Bekri, *op. cit.*, p. 456, writes that at-Taḥf lies within two parasangs of al-Baṣra, where there is a spot called Kerbela at which al-Ḥusejn, son of 'Alî, was slain. — Al-Bekri

about one meter thick and surrounded by white rocks about six meters high. Under the silt the run-off is retained on the rocky base and is used in irrigating fields sown with barley.¹¹³



FIG. 65—Members of the Beni Selâme.

From 7.05 to 7.50 we rested near a camp of the al-Ḥafâġe clan, who are united with the Raẓâlât. Râsed and Zbejri enquired as to the rest of the way to an-Neġef and about

means the sand dunes that extend from west of al-Baṣra towards the northwest, separated by intervals of varying breadth. Kerbela lies at the northern extremity of these sands.

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 539, states that al-Taḥḥ is a tract near al-Kûfa on the road to the desert. There al-Ḥusejn was killed. It is a desolate region but not far from tilled districts. There are many springs to be found in it, as, for example, aṣ-Ṣajd, al-Ḳuṭḡutâne, ar-Ruhejme, 'Ain Gamal, etc. By these springs frontier strongholds were built behind a ditch constructed by order of Sapor (see my *The Middle Euphrates*, pp. 347, 351) as a demarcation line for the Arabs. The lands adjacent to the various springs were given by Sapor in fief to the various chiefs, on the condition that they defend them against Arab raids and contribute the tax called *ḥarâġ*. After the battle of Du Kâr (see above, p. 169) the Arabs got possession of some of the springs, while others remained in the hands of the Persians.

¹¹³ In the Ḥesw 'Obejd I recognize the ancient Hafijje.

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 457, and Abu-l-Faḏâ'il, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 360, state that Hafijje was a thicket in the cultivated territory near al-Kûfa within ten miles to the west of ar-Ruḥbe and east of ar-Ruhejme. — The Ḥesw 'Obejd really lies south-southeast of ar-Ruhejme and northwest of ar-Ruḥbe.

political and trading conditions prevailing in the surrounding country.

At 8.10 we crossed the dry channel of the *še'ib* of Abu Ḥamîd, which terminates north of the Ḥesw 'Obejd. To the



FIG. 66—*Še'ib* of al-Ḥeseb.

north and northeast the horizon was enclosed by the scarp Ṭār aṣ-Ṣejhed, on top of which glittered the gilded dome of the tomb of 'Ali, the greatest saint of the Shiites. To the northwest at 9.30 we saw the small hamlet of ar-Rhejme,¹¹⁴ which lies in aṭ-Taff, or, more specifically, in the eastern part of the basin of Ḥesjân as-Sûs.

At 9.47 we crossed the broad *še'ib* of Abu Ḥamsât, on the right bank of which there rises the spring 'Ajn al-'Ezijje, which irrigates planted fields. Our exhausted camels, loaded with heavy packs, could not get over the drains as quickly as the others; hence we fell behind. At 10.25 east of us lay the Ḳaṣr al-'Ezijje, about one kilometer to the southeast of which flows

¹¹⁴ Al-Bekri, *op. cit.*, p. 426, states that ar-Ruhejme is a locality near al-Kûfa.

According to Jākūt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 880f., ar-Ruhejme is a spot near al-Kûfa. He cites as-Sakûni as saying that it is a spring on the route from al-Kûfa to Syria, within three miles of Ḥafijje. Farther west, he says, al-Ḳuṭajjeffe is situated.—In other sources no mention is made of the last-named locality.

a spring. At 11.20 we left the Darb al-Hşûni and marched straightway toward an-Neĝef across irrigated fields.

After 12.02 we arrived at a pond which extended north and northeast as far as the white scarp Ṭâr aş-Şejhed and to



FIG. 67—Hesw 'Obejd.

the east was lost to sight under the green tops of the palms south of an-Neĝef. As all the others waded through the water with their camels, we followed in their wake. However, their camels were carrying almost no burden, while each of ours was laden with at least 130 kilograms. They trod gingerly, stumbled, and after two o'clock could proceed no farther. They let themselves down on their knees in the water, which was about forty centimeters deep, and then could not regain their feet. We helped them by partly lifting off their packs and pulling their feet out of the mud, but the overtired creatures could not find a piece of firm ground to support their hind feet. They sank deeper and deeper. We had to unload them and hold the heavy packs until the others helped each camel get up, and only then could we replace the packs on their backs. Many articles were drenched through and spoiled, and we were

soiled with mud; still, we were glad that none of our animals were lost. It was 3.12 before we had extricated ourselves from the mud and water.

At 3.29 a ruined Shiite convent lay to our left. We skirted the southern edge of the town of an-Neġef, ascended the desolate plain of al-Ġer'a by the Abu Ćidmâje road, and pitched our tents at 4.20 near the northeastern corner of the fortification wall.

Without even changing my clothes I immediately went to the governor (*ķâjmaķâm*), a Circassian of about forty years old. Seeing a dirty Bedouin, his reception of me was anything but warm, and he was very much inclined to treat me as an English spy. I produced my credentials, but he had no confidence in their authenticity. After a long time I succeeded in convincing him that I was no Englishman; but he again took me for a disguised German officer, a kind of person to whom he strongly objected. Presently the mayor of an-Neġef entered the official premises. In 1912 he had paid me a visit as a representative of the previous *ķâjmaķâm* when I was in my tent near al-Kûfa. When he recognized me, he offered his salutations and assured the Circassian of the truth of my words and vouched for my integrity. This helped at last. The *ķâjmaķâm* thawed out and explained how difficult his position was. Then he begged me to exercise my influence with the chief Drejjem eben Barrâķ who lived between an-Neġef and al-Kûfa and whose subjects fired at every gendarme who left the road and ventured to enter their territory. Both the *ķâjmaķâm* and the mayor saw me to my tent, and the *ķâjmaķâm* offered me his mare. In the evening a violent sand storm raged from the northwest.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ The narrative of the return journey to Damascus, by way of Bagdad and the middle Euphrates, will be found in the author's *The Middle Euphrates*, New York, 1927, pp. 99—193, and *Palmyrena*, New York, 1928, pp. 189—226.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX I

THE PILGRIM ROAD FROM AL-KÛFA

Babylonia was in ancient times and always has been the granary and storehouse of central Arabia. Towards autumn many tribes migrate to the confines of the desert, market their herds and products, and purchase or acquire by barter grain, cloth, and various weapons. After the first rains they withdraw to the interior of the desert where they spend nine to ten months. During this period large trading caravans from central Arabia advance into Babylonia, bringing to the markets of the cities and towns there the merchandise deposited by the Bedouins with their chiefs, and purchasing there goods with which to supply the merchants settled in every oasis of any size. They take the shortest route and carefully observe the order of the natural watering places. Where, on such natural trails, the distance between two well supplied watering places is too great, artificial rain ponds are built or deep wells sunk. By large watering stations forts and khans are erected, where the night can be spent in safety. The chief in whose district such watering places are situated permanently garrisons the forts, about which petty traders settle. In this way small fortified posts arise, flourishing if the significance of the transport road increases, or leading a precarious existence if the trade caravans take another route. Al-Hîra, the predecessor of al-Kûfa, from the fifth to the seventh centuries of our era was the center of traffic between central Arabia and Babylonia, and the road which in those days led from there to the south and southwest, was no doubt much frequented and provided with fortified settlements. It is a pity that from the pre-Islamic period no more specific data are available on this subject. After Babylonia had become the seat of the Moslem Abbasside caliphs and the road, though primarily serving the purposes of trade, had acquired a religious significance on being converted into a pilgrim track, the caliphs took great care of it; Moslem — and indeed, also Christian — writers record the work of successive caliphs as well as the various posts and their respective distances.

AT-ṬABARÎ'S, AL-MAS'ŪDÎ'S, AND IBN ḤORDÂDBEH'S ACCOUNTS

At-Ṭabari (*Ta'riḥ* [De Goeje], Ser. 3, p. 81) and Elijah of Nisibis (*Opus chronologicum* [Brooks], p. 173) tell us that as early as 749—750 or 752 A. D. the first Abbasside caliph ordered the road from al-Kûfa to Mecca to be set with milestones and lofty towers, on the tops of which beacons blazed at night, lest the pilgrims should go astray (*al-manâr, kajmata'*).

At-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 3, p. 486, records that in 777—778 the caliph al-Mahdi ordered the buildings that had been erected by order of the caliph Abu-l-'Abbâs along the Pilgrim Road from al-Ḳâdesijje to Zubâla to be renovated and enlarged. Stations founded by Abu Ġa'far (754—775) remained unaltered. Every station was provided with large cisterns and,

wherever practicable, also with wells of spring water and with milestones. Their restoration was conducted by Jakṭīn ibn Mûsa, with his brother Abu Mûsa acting as substitute. — Thus not only Abu-l-‘Abbâs, but also Abu Ġaḥfar al-Manṣûr, his successor, took care of the Pilgrim Road. It seems that Abu-l-‘Abbâs confined his activities to the section between the stations of al-Ķâdesijje and Zubâla. The road being divided by accurate measurement into definite sections along its entire course and duly set with milestones, the Arabic authors had no difficulty in recording distances in miles and localities in degrees and minutes.

Al-Mas‘ûdî, *Murûġ* (De Meynard and De Courteille), Vol. 8, p. 294, records how Muḥammad al-Miṣri extols Harun ar-Rashid and Zobejde, his consort, who provided the Pilgrim Road to Mecca with solid buildings, capacious cisterns, and wells of spring water.

On this road wayfarers found everything they required and could make arrangement for relays so expeditiously that an express courier covered the distance from al-Medīna to Bagdad within nine days (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 3, p. 205).

Ibn Ḥordâdbeh, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), pp. 125—127, was the first to make scrupulous records of the various stations and the distances between them, as follows:

From al-Kûfa the way ran to al-‘Odejb, which is in Neġd.

From al-Kûfa to al-Ķâdesijje, 15 miles; thence to al-‘Odejb on the confines of the desert, 6 miles.

From al-Ķâdesijje to al-Murîṭa, with rain water, 24 miles; evening meal in the Wâdi as-Sibâ’, 15 miles (from al-Ķâdesijje).

From al-Murîṭa to al-Ķar’a’, with wells, 32 miles; evening meal at Mesġed Sa’d, 14 miles (from al-Murîṭa).

From al-Ķar’a’ to Wâķiṣa, with rain ponds and wells, 24 miles; evening meal at aṭ-Ṭaraf, 14 miles (from al-Ķar’a’).

From Wâķiṣa to al-‘Aķaba, with wells, 29 miles; evening meal at al-Ķubejbât, 14 miles (from Wâķiṣa).

From al-‘Aķaba to al-Ķâ’, with well, 24 miles; evening meal at al-Ġalḥa’, 13 miles (from al-‘Aķaba).

From al-Ķâ’ to Zubâla, with abundance of water, 24 miles; evening meal at al-Ġurejsi, 14 miles (from al-Ķâ’).

From Zubâla to aṣ-Šuķûķ, with rain ponds and wells, 21 miles; evening meal at at-Tanânîr, 14 miles (from Zubâla).

From aṣ-Šuķûķ to al-Biṭân (also known as Ķabr al-‘Ibâdi) with rain wells, 29 miles; evening meal at Rudân, 14 miles (from aṣ-Šuķûķ).

From al-Biṭân to at-Ta‘labijje, with rain ponds and where a third of the route was completed, 29 miles; evening meal at al-Muhallabijje, 14 miles (from al-Biṭân).

From at-Ta‘labijje to al-Ĥuzejmijje, with rain ponds and cisterns, 32 miles; evening meal at al-Rumejs, 14 miles (from at-Ta‘labijje).

From al-Ĥuzejmijje to al-Aġfor, with rain ponds and wells, 24 miles; evening meal in the depression of al-Ararr, 15 miles (from al-Ĥuzejmijje).

From al-Aġfor to Fejd, at which one half of the route was completed and where there were a *minbar* (pulpit), market places, rain ponds, and fountain heads, 36 miles; evening meal at al-Ķarâ’in, 20 miles (from al-Aġfor).

From Fejd to Tûz, with rain ponds and wells, 31 miles; evening meal at al-Ķarnatân, 17 miles (from Fejd). —

From al-Kûfa as far as at-Ta'labijje the route runs slightly west of south. The stations of al-Kûfa and Tûz according to Ibn Ḥordâdbeh lay 257 miles apart; their actual distance being 430 kilometers, one mile in this case may be taken as 1.7 kilometers, as was usual with Ibn Ḥordâdbeh.

From al-Kûfa to al-Kâdesijje Ibn Ḥordâdbeh gives a distance of 15 miles; which at the above ratio should be 25.5 kilometers; it is actually 27 kilometers. Thence to al-'Odejb, the 'Ajn as-Sejjed of today, he gives as 6 miles (10.2 km.); it is actually 8 kilometers by the direct route and 9.5 kilometers by a detour.

Ibn Ḥordâdbeh estimates the distance to al-Murîta as 24 miles (40.8 km.); thus he appears to measure this distance from al-Kâdesijje, which is actually 42 kilometers from al-Murîta, and not from al-'Odejb, which is only 34 kilometers distant. From al-Kâdesijje to the Wâdi as-Sibâ', the Ummu-s-Sbâ' of today, where the evening meal was taken, he gives as 15 miles (25.5 km.); it is actually 26 kilometers.

The distance from al-Murîta to al-Kar'a' he notes as 32 miles (54.4 km.); it is actually 42 kilometers, or only 25 miles. From al-Murîta to the Mesğed Sa'd he makes 14 miles (23.8 km.); the actual distance to al-Msejğed of today is 23 kilometers.

From al-Kar'a' to Wâķiṣa he reckons as 24 miles (40.8 km.); it is actually 46 kilometers. From al-Kar'a' to at-Ta'raf he gives as 14 miles (23.8 km.); the actual distance to al-Mafrež of today is 24 kilometers.

From Wâķiṣa to al-'Aķaba he has 29 miles (49.3 km.); the actual distance to al-'Oķoba is 50 kilometers. From Wâķiṣa to al-Kubejbât he gives as 14 miles (23.8 km.); the latter may possibly be identified with al-Hamedî at an actual distance of 24 kilometers.

From al-'Aķaba to al-Kâ' he estimates as 24 miles (40.8 km.). Al-Kâ' probably is the wells of al-Hejṭam at an actual distance of 47 kilometers from al-'Oķoba. From al-'Aķaba he gives the distance to al-Ġalḥa' as 13 miles (22.1 km.); al-Ġalḥa' possibly refers to al-Zetab at an actual distance of 20 kilometers from al-'Oķoba, although I saw no artificial reservoirs about there.

From al-Kâ' to Zubâla Ibn Ḥordâdbeh records the distance as 24 miles (40.8 km.); the actual distance from al-Hejṭam to Zubâla is 43 kilometers. From al-Kâ' to al-Ġurejsi he states that the distance is 14 miles (23.8 km.); al-Ġurejsi is probably al-Ġumejma in the district of al-Ġrejsi at a distance of 21 kilometers from al-Kâ' (al-Hejṭam).

From Zubâla to aš-Šukûķ he gives the distance as 21 miles (35.7 km.); aš-Šukûķ, the aš-Šihijjât of today, is actually 39 kilometers from Zubâla. From Zubâla to at-Tanânîr he estimates the distance as 14 miles (23.8 km.); the modern al-'Aşâfir in the district of at-Tanânîr is 22 kilometers from aš-Šukûķ (aš-Šihijjât).

From aš-Šukûķ to al-Biṭân, or Ķabr al-'Ibâdi, he gives the distance as 29 miles (49.3 km.); the present ruins of al-'Aşşâr on the edge of the Nâzjet al-Bṭâne are 50 kilometers from aš-Šukûķ (aš-Šihijjât). From aš-Šukûķ to Rudân he makes the distance 14 miles (23.8 km.); the actual distance to the Brejċet Hamed being 24 kilometers.

From al-Biṭân to at-Ta'labijje he gives the distance as 29 miles (49.3 km.); the actual distance is 50 kilometers. From al-Biṭân to al-Muhallabijje he gives the distance as 14 miles (23.8 km.); the remains

of ancient reservoirs at al-ʿArâješ are actually 23 kilometers from al-Bitân (al-ʿAššâr).

The total distance from at-Taʿlabijje to the station of Fejd he gives as 92 miles (156 km.), the actual distance being 200 kilometers.

From at-Taʿlabijje to al-Ḥuzejmijje he gives the distance as 32 miles (54.4 km.); al-Ḥuzejmijje coincides with the ruins of the station of Zerûd at an actual distance of 60 kilometers from at-Taʿlabijje. Al-Ḥumejs, which he places at 14 miles (23.8 km.) from at-Taʿlabijje, is probably the present Brejēt al-Wusēt, at an actual distance of 26 kilometers.

From al-Ḥuzejmijje to al-Ağfor he gives the distance as 24 miles (40.8 km.); the actual distance from Zerûd (al-Ḥuzejmijje) to al-Ağfor, where there are celebrated wells with water which runs even at the present time, is 60 kilometers. From al-Ḥuzejmijje to Baṭn al-Aṣrâr he gives the distance as 15 miles (25.5 km.); al-Aṣrâr is probably the deserted Brejēt al-Aṣrâr at an actual distance of 38 kilometers from Zerûd.

From al-Ağfor to Fejd he gives the distance as 36 miles (61.2 km.), the actual distance being 72 kilometers. From al-Ağfor to al-Ḳarâʾin he gives the distance as 20 miles (34 km.); al-Ḳarâʾin refers to hills north-east of Fejd.

From Fejd to Tûz he gives the distance as 31 miles (52.7 km.); Tûz is the modern at-Tûzi at 64 kilometers to the southwest of Fejd. From Fejd to al-Ḳarnâtân he reckons the distance as 17 miles (28.9 km.); al-Ḳarnâtân (more properly al-Ḳarnân, al-Ḳranên of today) are rocky hills 36 kilometers southwest of Fejd.

ḲODÂMA'S, AL-JAʿKÛBÎ'S, AND AL-HAMDÂNÎ'S ACCOUNTS

Along the same route from al-Kûfa to Tûz Ḳodâma, *Ḥarâğ* (De Goeje), pp. 185 f., gives precisely the same figures as those of Ibn Ḥordâdbeh for the distances between the main stations, with, however, the following exceptions: from al-Ḳâdesijje to al-Murîta he reckons 14 miles, this probably being due to a copyist's mistake for 24 miles, the figure given by Ibn Ḥordâdbeh; from Zubâla to aš-Šukûk he estimates it 18 miles (Ibn Ḥordâdbeh: 21 miles); from at-Taʿlabijje to al-Ḥuzejmijje he gives as 33 miles (Ibn Ḥordâdbeh: 32 miles); from Fejd to Tûz, 33 miles (Ibn Ḥordâdbeh: 31 miles).

Ḳodâma knew of al-Ḳarʿa, al-ʿAḳaba, and Zubâla as provided with various buildings, Zubâla being occupied by many people. Fejd was in his time and has always been an important oasis.

Al-Jaʿkûbî, *Buldân* (De Goeje), pp. 311 f., merely enumerates the principal stations without specifying their distances; he indicates, however, the tribes in whose territory they were situated. He asserts that from al-Kûfa to the Ḥeğâz the road leads south, past inhabited stations with good water. The caliphs of the Hâšem family (Abbassides) erected numerous solid buildings resembling castles along this road. The various stations follow in this order: al-Ḳâdesijje, al-Murîta, al-Ḳarʿa, Wâḳiṣa, al-ʿAḳaba, al-Ḳâ, Zubâla, aš-Šukûk, Bitân or Ḳabr al-ʿIbâdi. The last four stations lie in the territory of the Beni Asad. At-Taʿlabijje is a fortified town. Zerûd and al-Ağfor belong to the Tajj, as well as Fejd and Tûz.

The distances given along this route by Ibn Roste, *Aʿlâk* (De Goeje), pp. 175 f., are also the same as those furnished by Ibn Ḥordâdbeh, with one

exception. Ibn Roste apparently reckons it 30, instead of the more correct 24, miles from al-Kâdesijje to al-Murîta, this error being due perhaps to a duplication of the 6 miles between al-Kâdesijje and al-‘Odejb.

Ibn Roste includes a few details about the various stations that are not mentioned by Ibn Ḥordâdbeh; for example: that al-‘Odejb is a former Persian military post; that the original steep slope of al-‘Aḳaba has been graded. Some of his place names are also different from those of Ibn Ḥordâdbeh. For the evening meal station of al-Ḳubejbât he uses the place name as-Sama’, a name which to all appearances arose from a note to the effect that the locality was provided with reservoirs of rain water (*ma’ as-sama’*). He writes “al-Biṭânijje” instead of the “al-Biṭân” and “Durân” or “Wurân” instead of the “Rudân” of Ibn Ḥordâdbeh. The “al-Ṛumejs” of Ibn Ḥordâdbeh is replaced by the word “al-‘Ajn”, undoubtedly incorrectly, as there has never been any spring water stream (*ajṇ*) at this locality.

Tûz is designated as “a fertile station (*manzal ḥaṣab*)” occupied by the Beni Asad nomads” instead of more correctly as “a fortified station (*manzal ḥaṣan*),” probably as a result of an interchange of letters very easy in the Arabic alphabet. According to al-Jaʿkûbi, *op. cit.*, p. 311, the station of Tûz belonged to the Ṭajj tribe, but, according to Ibn Roste, to the Asad.

Al-Hamdâni, *Ṣifa* (Müller), Vol. I, pp. 183f., knew of the same stations on the Pilgrim Road from al-Kûfa to Tûz; his distances, however, are different from those of Ibn Ḥordâdbeh and can be correct neither individually nor as a sum total. Besides distances he also records the degrees and minutes of geographical latitude. His figures follow:

Al-Kûfa	32°; thence to al-Kâdesijje, ...	14 miles.
Al-Kâdesijje	32°; thence to al-Murîta, ...	36 miles.
Al-Murîta	31° 32'; thence to al-Ḳar'a, ...	25 miles.
Al-Ḳar'a	31°; thence to Wâḳiṣa, ...	22 miles.
Wâḳiṣa	30° 30'; thence to al-‘Aḳaba, ...	25 miles.
Al-‘Aḳaba	30°; thence to al-Kâ', ...	20 miles.
Al-Kâ'	29° 20'; thence to Zubâla, ...	18 miles.
Zubâla	29° 15'; thence to aš-Šukûḳ, ...	19 miles.
Aš-Šukûḳ	29°; thence to al-Biṭân, ...	22 miles.
Al-Biṭân	28°; thence to al-Ḥuzejmijje, ...	28 miles.
Al-Ḥuzejmijje	27° 40'; thence to al-Ağfor, ...	20 miles.
Al-Ağfor	27° 20'; thence to Fejd, ...	28 miles.
Fejd	27°; thence to Tûz, ...	24 miles.

Al-Hamdâni's total distance from al-Kûfa to Tûz is 291 miles, whereas according to Ibn Ḥordâdbeh it is 380 miles. Ibn Ḥordâdbeh's figures are more accurate. According to al-Hamdâni al-Kûfa lies in the same latitude as al-Kâdesijje, although the latter actually lies 27 kilometers to the south of the former. From al-Kâdesijje to al-Murîta al-Hamdâni indicates as 36 miles; since this distance should be 24 miles, the interval between al-Kâdesijje and al-‘Odejb has undoubtedly been included twice.

AL-MUḲADDASI'S, IBN ĞUBEJR'S, AND JĀḲŪT'S ACCOUNTS

Al-Muḳaddasi (*Aḥsan* [De Goeje], pp. 107f., 250f.) repeats Ibn Ḥordâdbeh's figures for the distances between the main stations, the only

difference being that he estimates the stretch between al-Kâdesijje and al-Murîta at 17, instead of the more nearly correct 24, miles, perhaps owing to confusion with the approximate distance of 17 miles from al-ʿOdejb to al-Murîta. Furthermore, from al-Murîta to al-Ḳarʿa he correctly measures 22 miles, whereas all others give this stretch as 32 miles.

Ibn Ġubejr, *Rihla* (De Goeje), pp. 205—210, returning in 1184 from al-Medîna to al-Kûfa arrived with a train of pilgrims on April 28 at the rock called al-Mahrûk (the Perforated), which derives its name from a conspicuous hole in its upper portion. The opening was continually being widened by the action of the wind. The travelers rested themselves in the valley of al-Kurûš, which is destitute of water. Towards evening they resumed their march and in the morning arrived at the settlement of Fejd, having thus covered half the distance from al-Medîna to al-Kûfa. From here to al-Kûfa 12 days were reckoned by a straight and easy road, provided copiously with water in numerous reservoirs. They started at night and on May 1 rested at al-Aġfor before noon. In the afternoon the march was resumed, and late in the evening camp was pitched in a level steppe. During the night they marched on again and arrived at nine o'clock at the station of Zerûd. Their next march to at-Taʿlabijje was similar. On the way from at-Taʿlabijje to al-Kûfa there were only three stations with water enough to satisfy all, men as well as beasts. These stations were: Zubâla, Wâķiṣa, and a place near a certain canal issuing from the Euphrates near al-Kûfa. Other stations were also provided with water, which, however, did not suffice for all. From at-Taʿlabijje they proceeded to the Birket al-Marġûm, to aš-Šukûk, to at-Tanânîr, to Zubâla, to al-Hajtamân, and thence to a reservoir filled with water lying south of ʿAķabat aš-Šejtân; the access to the latter station was by a difficult but short detour. Along the Pilgrim Road they saw countless reservoirs, by each of which there was a fortified building such as is erected by the nomads. Finally they arrived at the station of Wâķiṣa, whence it takes three days to reach al-Kûfa. From Wâķiṣa they went to Lowza; to al-Ḳarʿa, where they discovered the remains of old structures; to a large rain pond; to Manârat al-Ḳurûn; and to al-ʿOdejb. The settlement of ar-Ruḥbe was passed by them at a distance of one parasang, and then, passing al-Kâdesijje and an-Neġef, they proceeded to al-Kûfa, where they arrived at sunrise on May 12. —

The perforated rock al-Mahrûk, now called al-Mharûka, is northeast of the station of Tûz, or at-Tûzi, which is not named by Ibn Ġubejr. The name of the valley of al-Kurûš has been preserved in that of Ab-al-Krûš. The Birket al-Marġûm is the old al-Biṭân, or Kabr al-ʿIbâdi. Al-Hajtamân comprises, in fact, two stations, that of al-Kâ and that of al-Hejṭam. The station before, or south of, ʿAķabat aš-Šejtân (al-ʿAķaba) is either al-ʿAmja or the old al-Ġalḥa. The Lowza (not "Lowra," as printed) well lies some 23 kilometers north of Wâķiṣa. The large rain pond not named by Ibn Ġubejr was probably al-Mrîte. Manârat al-Ḳurûn is the modern Ummu Krûn, lying within 59 kilometers of al-Ḳarʿa. The pilgrims did not enter the settlement of ar-Ruḥbe but spent the night to the north of it, by a canal which supplied al-Kâdesijje and the lands of ar-Ruḥbe with water from the Euphrates.

Jâķût, *Muġam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 4, p. 28, records these stations: al-Kâdesijje, al-ʿOdejb, al-Murîta, al-Ḳarʿa, Wâķiṣa, al-ʿAķaba, al-Kâ,

Zubâla, Šukûk (spelled without the article), ẖabr al-'Ibâdi, and also at-Ta'labijje; he gives no distances.

IBN BAṬṬŪṬA'S AND ḤAĠĠI ḤALFA'S ACCOUNTS

In 1326 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*Tuḥfa* [Defrêmercy and Sanguinetti], Vol. 1, pp. 408-414) traveled with a large train from Mecca to al-Kûfa. From the hill of al-Maḥrûk he marched to the Wâdi al-Kurûš, where there was no water available; thence to the fort of Fejd, lying midway between Mecca and Bagdad; and thence to al-Kûfa, to reach which 12 days were considered necessary, traveling by an easy route provided with water in various reservoirs. The station of al-Ağfor was celebrated for the love of Ġamil and Buṭejna. Duly rested in the level steppe, the travelers visited Zerûd, at-Ta'labijje, and the Birket al-Marġûm, where, by the roadside, a shrine had been erected, on top of which there was a large heap of stones, every pilgrim contributing a stone. There was also a large cistern there with water enough to satisfy all. At the station of al-Mašġûk there were two cisterns with pure and good water. At at-Tanânîr a reservoir filled with water was found. From Zubâla they proceeded to al-Ḥajtamân, where there were two cisterns; they rested south of the 'Aḳabat aš-Šejtân and ascended this steep slope without much difficulty; they encamped at the station of Wâķiša; then at Lowza, where there was a large reservoir; at al-Mesâġed with three cisterns; at the Manârat al-Ḳurûn; at al-'Odejb; and finally at al-Kâdesijje. Of the former town only a large village has remained amid palm groves irrigated by ditches supplying water from the Euphrates. Hence Ibn Baṭṭūṭa proceeded to Mešhed 'Ali (an-Neġef). —

After Ibn Baṭṭūṭa had passed al-Ağfor he encamped in the level steppe either at al-Ararr or al-Mġanna'. The nomads of central Arabia do not observe the custom of throwing stones on graves or piling them into heaps in honor of some saint. This has been a custom observed only by pilgrims coming from settled countries. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa records the name of the station of al-Mašġûk, while all the other Arabic authors refer to aš-Šukûk.

Ḥaġġi Ḥalfa, *Ġihân numa'* (Constantinople, 1145 A. H.), p. 543, following old records, gives an account of the Pilgrim Road from Bagdad to al-Medîna. The way leads from al-Kûfa to Mešhed 'Ali, the key of the desert of Neġef; thence to the reservoir of Mu'tebe in the valley of as-Sibâ'; thence to the station of al-Ḳar'a', with water; thence to Mesġed Sa'd al-Fezâri, once also called Sa'd Waḳġâs; thence to Wâķiša, where Malek Shah, ruler of Persia, ordered a well to be sunk 15 cubits wide and 400 cubits deep and its interior to be lined with masonry of dressed ashlar; thence to the wells of 'Aḳabat aš-Šejtân; thence to the dry well of Kâ' and rain ponds of Bujûk; thence to the reservoirs of Bârtân or Ḳubbet al-'Ibâdi; and thence to at-Ta'labijje. The last mentioned was the terminus of a branch of the Pilgrim Road coming in from the town of Wâset by way of Ša'sa'a, 'Îs, Dât al-'Ajn, Šâhijje, Aḥâdijje, Ḥawḥa', Sa-wijje, and Lîne. From at-Ta'labijje the main road leads to Ḥuzejmijje; thence to Ḥukûkijjet Fejd, where spring water is available; and thence to the reservoirs of Šûr and Šumejr, where the way to al-Medîna branches off. Along the entire course of the Pilgrim Road vestiges can be traced

of the activities of Zobejde, consort of one of the Abbasside caliphs, and of Malek Shah. — The *Musawwada ġihân numa'* (Codex vindobonensis), fol. 188, indicates a distance of 256 miles, or 85 parasangs, between Wâset and at-Ta'labijje and of 25 miles from Lîne to at-Ta'labijje. —

Instead of the desert of Neġef we should read the desert of Neġd. From an-Neġef the Pilgrim Road led to the desert of Neġd, which began and still begins as near as the station of al-'Odejb (or 'Ajn as-Sejjed). The name Mu'tebe derives its origin from an erroneous transcription of the word al-Murîta. After al-Kâ the important station of Zubâla is omitted. "Bujûk" is a misspelling of the ancient Šukûk. "Bârtân" stands incorrectly for Biṭân, or Kabr al-'Ibâdi, the modern al-'Aššâr. Instead of Lîne the text has LD. Sawijje I identify with al-Hšejbi, Hawhâ with the important watering place of Ġawḥa, Aḥâdijje with at-Taḥâdîd. "Šûr" stands for the correct Tûz; "Šumejr" for Samîra. The distance given by Haġġi Ḥalfa between Lîne and at-Ta'labijje is also incorrect.

APPENDIX II

PAGES FROM THE HISTORY OF ZERÛD AND ENVIRONS

In 680 two Arabs returning from a pilgrimage and approaching the station of Zerûd overtook Ḥusejn, son of 'Ali, who was on his way to al-Kûfa, and offered him their company. At the station of at-Ta'labijje and also at other points on the road new adherents joined him. At the station of Zubâla he learned that Muslim ibn 'Aġîl, his cousin, had been killed and that the inhabitants of al-Kûfa had turned away from him. Afterwards Ḥusejn was deserted by all except those who had accompanied him the whole way from al-Medîna. With these he passed the station of Baṭn al-'Aġaba and arrived at Šerâf, where he deviated to the left in order to evade a troop despatched against him from al-Kâdesijje. All the important points on the inhabited border between Ḥaffân and al-Ḳuṭkuṭâne were occupied by the enemy, who intended to prevent his arrival at al-Kûfa. When in the valley of Du Ḥusam he was pursued by enemy horsemen commanded by al-Ḥurr ibn Jazîd at-Tamîni al-Jarbû'i, who was remarkably well acquainted with the country. He induced Ḥusejn, however, not to proceed to the station of al-'Odejb, still thirty-eight miles distant, but to turn more to the left. Ḥusejn did so and traveling via 'Odejb al-Heġânât arrived at the Kašr Beni Muġâtel. (Aṭ-Ṭabari, *Ta'riḥ* [De Goeje], Ser. 2, pp. 291—297.) —

Ḥusejn took the Pilgrim Road from the station of Zerûd as far as Šerâf. Ḥaffân coincides with the small settlement of al-Kâjem of modern times, al-Ḳuṭkuṭâne now being called aṭ-Ṭuḡṭuḡâne. The entire borders between these two fortified settlements were occupied, and Ḥusejn was too weak to force a passage by violence. Hence he decided to give al-Ḳuṭkuṭâne a wide berth and to proceed in a northwesterly direction in order that he might reach al-Kûfa or Irak either from the west or from the northwest. The valley of Du Ḥusam is the modern al-Ḥeseb, *m* being

frequently replaced by *b*. 'Odejb al-Heġânât is the name given to the head of the valley where the spring of al-'Odejb ('Ajn as-Sejjed) wells up. The habitation called Kaşr Beni Muġâtel is the modern settlement of Şetâta.

Abu Miġnaf adds (*ibid.*, pp. 300-305) that on his march Husejn arrived at a locality called al-Bêda. Ibn Abi-l-'Ajzâr (*ibid.*) tells us that Husejn proceeded to 'Odejb al-Heġânât ('Odejb of the Female Riding Camels) — a locality so-called because the female riding camels of King No'mân used to graze there — and thence to the habitation called Kaşr Beni Muġâtel. — Al-Bêda corresponds with the plain of al-Bêza bounded on the west by the valley of Du Ĥusam (al-Ĥeseb).

Ibn Roste, *A'lâk* (De Goeje), pp. 175f., states that the station of Zerûd was called al-Ĥuzejmijje, because Ĥuzejmat ibn al-Ĥâzem had ordered a reservoir built there for the interception of rain water and had set up a pumping apparatus to be worked by camels. Very often when pilgrims do not find any water at the station of Zerûd they have to obtain it at a place near by which belongs to the Beni Tamîm. The environs of Zerûd are all covered with reddish sand.

Kodâma, *Ĥarâġ* (De Goeje), p. 186, describes al-Ĥuzejmijje as a fortified town. A mosque with a pulpit, baths, and many wells, but very little water, is stated to have been found there.

Al-Muġaddasi, *Aĥsan* (De Goeje), p. 254, mentions al-Ĥuzejmijje as a station with half-choked cisterns of rain water and with wells that are of no use.

Al-Bekri, *Muġam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 528, records that the hill of Murbeġ rises in the mountains near the station of Zerûd. — As there are no mountains about Zerûd, we must read in place of *ġebel* (mountain) *ĥabl* (rope), the term for a long sand drift or a tongue of a sand desert. These are numerous in the environs of Zerûd. This conforms with al-'Emrânî's assertion (Jâġût, *Muġam* [Wüstenfeld], Vol. 4, p. 483) that Marbaġ is a sandy tract near Zerûd. — Both Murbeġ and Marbaġ probably refer to the present al-Maġbaġ. *Ġ* may well have improperly been copied as *r* and the dot of the *ġ* misplaced above the *ĥ*. Al-Maġbaġ is a line of dunes running from southeast to northwest of Zerûd.

Ibn Ġubejr, *Riĥla* (De Goeje), p. 206, states that the station of Zerûd lies in a basin encompassed by an extensive plain of sand. A large enclosure is erected here not unlike a fortress, and many small houses are built within it. Such an enclosure is called *kaşr* in these parts. Water, not very palatable, was drawn from wells.

Jâġût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 928, uses the name Zerûd for a sandy waste on the Pilgrim Road between the stations of at-Ta'labijje and al-Ĥuzejmijje. He cites the opinion of Ibn al-Kalbi that Zerûd al-'Atîka is a fortified station provided with a rain pond, which lies one mile to the north of al-Ĥuzejmijje. According to others (Jâġût, *loc. cit.*) the Pilgrim Road from al-Kûfa traverses the sand deserts of aš-Šiĥa and aš-Šaġiġ. The latter consists of five long, white sand drifts. Two of these five drifts are called Zerûd, one is called al-Rarr, another — the most difficult to cross — Murbeġ, and finally comes at-Ta'rîda, which is the most easily passed of all and beyond which the Pilgrim Road ultimately reaches the mountainous Heġâz. At Zerûd the Tarġeb once fought with the Beni Jarbû', a fight famous among the Arabs. —

Jâkût calls the station al-Ḥuzejmijje and uses the name Zerûd only for a desert of sand. Wüstenfeld corrects (*ibid.*, Vol. 5, p. 229) the text here, substituting *aġbul* for *aḥbul*. In the vicinity of the station of Zerûd, or al-Ḥuzejmijje, there are no mountains or hills (*aġbul*), but there are many *aḥbul*, or more or less wide tracts of dunes that measure a great many kilometers in length. Mountains and hills (*aġbul*) are reached on the southward course only beyond the station of al-Aġfar. The sandy waste of aš-Šiḥa may be identified with the desert of ad-Dhana south of the station of aš-Šihijât. Aš-Šaḳîḳ is a sandy plain near the station of aš-Šuḳûḳ. Zerûd is the name of the dunes between the station of at-Taḻabijje and Zerûd. Murbeḥ should read al-Maḍbah; al-Rarr (or al-Ararr) denotes the wells and short stretch of dunes before the station of al-Aġfar is reached; and the name at-Taṛida arose — in my opinion — out of the correct al-ʿArîde, as the plain to the west of al-Aġfar is called. The mountains of the Ḥeġâz begin before the station of Fejd is reached. These mountains are described as belonging to the Ḥeġâz because the station of Fejd and, indeed, very frequently the whole Pilgrim Road were included within the administrative district of the town of Mecca — that is, in the Ḥeġâz.

The Ḥabalaj Zerûd (Two Sand Drifts of Zerûd) are altered into the Ġabalaj Zerûd (Two Mountains of Zerûd) in the narrative describing the pilgrimage of the caliph al-Manṣûr (Abu-l-Faraġ, *Aṛâni* [Bûlâḳ, 1285 A. H.], Vol. 15, p. 60).

About the end of 1326 Ibn Baṭṭûta (*Tuḥfa* [Defrémery and Sanguinetti], Vol. 1, p. 410) visited Zerûd and found there a fortress composed of small cottages built close to one another in a basin encompassed by sand drifts. The water in the wells did not taste good.

About four miles to the east of al-Ḥuzejmijje, near the watering place of Urâta, Jâkût (*op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 946) indicates the watering place of al-Hâšimijje, the property of the Beni al-Ḥâret ibn Taḻaba of the Asad tribe. He refers to a settlement called at-Ṭîba (*ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 568) near Zerûd. — This at-Ṭîba may undoubtedly be identified with at-Taḻjiba or Taḻjebt Ism, names which were given to the settlement of Baḳ'a' in order to avert the unfortunate impression that would be conveyed by *baḳ'a'*, a term indicating a sterile woman.

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 951, uses al-Habîr to denote the sandy waste surrounding the station of Zerûd.

Elijah of Nisibis, *Opus chronologicum* (Brooks), p. 205, employs the name al-Hûbîr in describing the same desert.

Al-Mukaddasi, *op. cit.*, p. 254, states that in the middle of the sand desert of Habîr there is the Ḳabr al-'Ibâdi, a grave with a large heap of stones over it. — The Ḳabr al-'Ibâdi is the modern al-'Aššâr, which lies within 120 kilometers to the northeast of Zerûd. Hence we must locate al-Habîr in the desert of ad-Dhana.

APPENDIX III

AT-TA'LABIJJE

In the time of Ibn Roste (*A'lâk* [De Goeje], p. 175) at-Ta'labijje was a fortified town with a *ġâme'* (cathedral mosque), a *minbar* (pulpit), numerous baths, a market place, and rain ponds.

Al-Mas'ûdi, *Tanbih* (De Goeje), p. 380, narrates that in 924 A. D. Abu Tâher Sulejmân ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Bahrâm al-Ġannâbi, the lord of al-Baḥrein, at the head of five hundred horse and six hundred foot, attacked and completely plundered a pilgrim caravan returning from Mecca. This occurred on the sandy tract of al-Habîr in the direction of at-Ta'labijje. — Al-Habîr is the name of the sand dunes of ad-Dhana to the north of at-Ta'labijje.

Al-Muḳaddasi, *Aḥsan* (De Goeje), p. 254, adds that the settlement of at-Ta'labijje, which lies about a third of the way along the road to Mecca, has many rain ponds from which water is drawn by means of a special pumping apparatus. The inhabited fort was provided with a well of fresh spring water.

When in the spring of 1184 Ibn Ġubejr (*Rihla* [De Goeje], p. 206) visited at-Ta'labijje he saw the remains of the old walls of the fort; by them there was a large rain pond to which access was obtained by steps on three sides.

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 925, knew of at-Ta'labijje as a station between aš-Šuḳûḳ and al-Ḥuzejmijje, about one-third of the way along the Pilgrim Road to Mecca. Almost one mile from at-Ta'labijje water is present at aḍ-Ḍuwêġ'e, where there is also a rain-water reservoir called Ḥamd as-Sabil and dunes which extend as far as al-Ḥuzejmijje. — Ḥamd as-Sabil is identical with the rain pond of Ṭalhât al-Ḥamd to the southeast of at-Ta'labijje.

About the end of 1326 (Ibn Battûta, *Tuhfa* [Defrémery and Sanguinetti], Vol. 1, p. 410) nothing was left of the station of at-Ta'labijje but a fort half in ruins and a deep rain pond approached by steps. During the time of a pilgrimage the place was enlivened by the Arabs who came to sell their camels, goats, sheep, butter, and sour milk.

Ḥaġġi Ḥalfa, *Ġihân numa'* (Constantinople, 1145 A. H.), p. 531, describes at-Ta'labijje, in agreement with the oldest available records, as a fortified town supplied with plenty of water and situated where the first third of the road from al-Kûfa to Mecca ends. — This, however, gives us a picture of at-Ta'labijje at some time in the ninth century and not in the seventeenth century, when Ḥaġġi Ḥalfa wrote.

The environs also of at-Ta'labijje were known to the Arabic authorities.

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 933, states that al-Wa'sa' is the name of the dunes traversed by the Pilgrim Road between at-Ta'labijje and al-Ḥuzejmijje. Zobejdet umm Ġa'far, consort of Harun ar-Rashid, ordered a rain-water reservoir called al-Ḳunej'a to be built amid these drifts

(*ibid.*, p. 196). — In my opinion we must read al-Ḳutej'a, as the rain-water reservoir in question lies on the Pilgrim Road by the Nāzjet al-Ḳṭē'a (for al-Ḳutej'a), twenty-five kilometers to the south of at-Ta'labijje.

A locality called az-Zobejr (*ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 917) lies in the desert within a short distance of at-Ta'labijje. — The well of az-Zebār now lies within twenty-eight kilometers to the southeast of at-Ta'labijje.

According to Ibn Ġubejr, *op. cit.*, p. 207, to the north of at-Ta'labijje, between it and aš-Šuḵûḵ, was the rain-water reservoir of al-Marġûm, which derived its name from a man who was stoned to death and whose grave rises by the roadside. The pilgrims passing by throw on it stones, which form a high heap.

Al-Muḳaddasi, *loc. cit.*, knew of a small station called al-Biṭân with half choked-up wells and remains of old structures, lying between at-Ta'labijje and aš-Šuḵûḵ. — The name of al-Biṭân has survived in the name of the Nāzjet al-Bṭâne by the half-ruined station of Brejċet al-ʿAššâr.

According to Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 661, Biṭân lies between aš-Šuḵûḵ and Zubâla and belongs to the Beni Nâšira of the Beni Asad. Within nine miles of Biṭân in the direction of at-Ta'labijje there was one well preserved and one half-choked-up rain pond called at-Tanâhi (*op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 876); two miles farther away was the pond of Ġa'far; within three miles of this was the pond of al-Ḥusejn, an officer of the caliph Harun ar-Rashid ibn al-Mahdi; and another eight miles farther south was the Mesġed at-Ta'labijje. — It can be seen from this record of Jâḳût how thoroughgoing was the official description of the Pilgrim Road from Bagdad to Mecca.

APPENDIX IV

THE STATION OF FEJD IN HISTORY

The oasis of Fejd was very important even prior to the introduction of Islam.

At the beginning of summer, 625 A.D., Abu Salama made a raid on the encampment of the Asad tribe pitched by the watering place of Ḳaṭan in the administrative district of Neġd (Ibn Hišâm, *Sira* [Wüstenfeld], Vol. 1, p. 975).

Al-Mas'ûdi, *Tanbih* (De Goeje), p. 245, states that Ḳaṭan is a mountain in the district of Fejd on the border of Neġd.

Ibn as-Sikkît writes (*Jâḳût, op. cit.*, Vol. 4, pp. 138f.) that Mount Ḳaṭan rises in the Beni ʿAbs territory between the valley of ar-Rumma and the territory of the Beni Asad. An abundance of water and many date palms are said to exist there. Al-Wâġedi (*ibid.*) records that Ḳaṭan is a mountain or watering place within the district of Fejd in the Beni Asad territory. —

According to all these records we must locate Ḳaṭan between the oasis of Fejd and the valley of ar-Rma'.

In 657 'Ali, Mohammed's son-in-law, mounted a riding camel, alongside which his mare ran without any rider on her back; arriving at the oasis of Fejd, he was greeted with enthusiastic cheers by the Ṭajj and Asad tribes. Thence he proceeded by way of at-Ta'labijje and al-Asâd to Du Kâr and the environs of al-Baṣra. (Aṭ-Ṭabari, *Ta'riḥ* [De Goeje], Ser. 1, pp. 3143f.) — From at-Ta'labijje 'Ali turned to the north-east, Du Kâr being the modern Abu Râr.

In 762 a force despatched by the caliph Abu Ġa'far al-Manṣûr established a strong encampment at the oasis of Fejd and fenced it in with a deep moat, which was filled in and leveled only after many years. The force was intended to cut off the connection of the inhabitants of al-Kûfa with the insurgent followers of the family of 'Ali in al-Medîna. (*Ibid.*, Ser. 3, p. 224.)

Al-Ja'kûbi, *Buldân* (De Goeje), p. 312, states that the city of Fejd, situated at the base of the Salma mountains, was the seat of the administrator of the district which was traversed by the Pilgrim Road to Mecca. The town was inhabited by the members of the Ṭajj tribe.

Ibn Roste, *A'lâk* (De Goeje), p. 176, also records that the administrator of the district traversed by the Pilgrim Road had his seat at Fejd, lying almost half-way between Mecca and al-Kûfa. The station was inhabited by many members of the Ṭajj tribe, who raised grain on fields irrigated from an aqueduct. There was a *ġâme'* (cathedral mosque) in the town.

In 907 the members of the Ṭajj tribe beleaguered for three days the commander of pilgrims at Fejd, but were repelled by a sortie on the fourth day (at-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 3, p. 2278).

Kodâma, *Harâġ* (De Goeje), p. 186, states that Fejd is provided with an aqueduct and tilled, and that there is a *minbar* (pulpit) in the mosque of the station, which is the seat of the administrator of the district.

In 924 the Carmathians infested the Pilgrim Road. The first train of pilgrims made a halt at Fejd, but was subsequently attacked by the Carmathians in al-Habîr. When the news had reached the other pilgrims, they assembled at Fejd and prepared to resist; but most of them were slaughtered, and those who succeeded in making good their escape perished of thirst and starvation in the desert. ('Arîb, *Sila* [De Goeje], p. 118f.)

Al-Iṣṭaḥri, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 20, writes that Fejd, at which there is not much water, lies within the territory of the Ṭajj tribe, two marches from the two mountain ranges. The inhabitants, members of the Ṭajj tribe, had small palm plantations and fields. In some years they were in the habit of leaving the station and searching for pasture lands in the desert. — Al-Iṣṭaḥri seems to confound Fejd with Zerûd. Fejd lies at the very foot of the Salma mountains and in consequence is not situated within a two days' journey of them and of the Eġa' range, as is Zerûd. Moreover, as Fejd toward the middle of the tenth century was strongly fortified and densely inhabited, it does not seem probable that the inhabitants would have been accustomed to leave their gardens and fields rove in the desert.

About 985 (al-Muḡaddasi, *Aḥsan* [De Goeje], p. 254) Fejd was a small town and had a fort with iron gates, baths, and a pond; and the local market supplied all the commodities of life. Numerous springs, spring wells, and cisterns provided water that was not very good but

sufficed both for the inhabitants and pilgrims. Pure fresh water could be obtained near the oasis. Fejd was included within the administrative district of the Ḥeġâz. The pilgrims who were en route from al-Kâdesijje would leave part of their stores there. As in the second half of the tenth century the oasis of Fejd was under the sway of the Carmathians, no sermons were preached in the local *ġâmeʿ*. —

Al-Muḳaddasi includes Fejd within the Ḥeġâz because it was the seat of the administrator of the district which was traversed by the Pilgrim Road and depended on Mecca.

In 990 Ibn al-Ġarrâḥ, chief of the Ṭajj tribe, fell upon a train of pilgrims between Samîra and Fejd and left the way clear only after he had extorted three thousand *dirhem* and various articles of clothing (Ibn al-Aṭîr, *Kâmil* [Tornberg], Vol. 9, p. 48).

In 1022 the Arabs, led by Hemâr ibn ʿUda of the Beni Nebhân, surrounded a train of pilgrims at Fejd and were not contented when only one thousand dinars had been offered them. In order to terrify the pilgrims, Hemâr rode around them in his armor, but received a deadly wound from an arrow; whereupon his confederates scattered and the pilgrims passed on. (*Ibid.*, Vol. 9, p. 229.)

Al-Bekri, *Muġam* (Wüstenfeld), pp. 718f, records that Fejd lies to the east of the Salma mountains, which belong to the Ṭajj tribe. Within sixteen miles of Fejd, in the direction of al-Aġfor and to the south of the Pilgrim Road, the hill of ʿUnejza rises in the territory of the Beni Saʿd ibn Taʿlaba of the Asad ibn Ḥuzejma tribe. The watering places of al-Kahfa and al-Baʿûda are to be found near ʿUnejza. The way to al-Baʿûda passes between Neġfat al-Marrût and the sand desert of Ġurâd. The members of the Beni Tuhajja clan have their camps there. The desolate plain of Bawlân, which produces no vegetation, extends almost as far as al-Baʿûda. West of the ʿUnejza hill and south of the Pilgrim Road, within twenty miles of Fejd, lies al-ʿAkr or ʿAkr Salma, which belongs to the Beni Nebhân, and still farther on rises the lofty reddish Mount al-Ramr in the territory of the Beni Muḥâšen clan of the Asad tribe, at the base of which are the watering places of ar-Ruḥejme and at-Taʿlabijje. Within sixteen miles of Fejd appears the extensive hill of Adana, which belongs to the Beni al-Karijje, who draw water at the neighboring watering place of Taġr. All these points constitute the sacred precincts of Fejd. Beyond Adana lie the isolated hills of al-Wirâḳ, belonging to the Beni Ṭammâḥ clan of the Asad tribe, who possess the watering places of Afʿa and al-Wirâḳa. Within sixteen miles of Fejd the two black mountains of ʿAjân al-Karnejn tower close by the Pilgrim Road, and four miles from these is the watering place of an-Nabt, belonging to the clan of Beni al-Ḥareṭ ibn Taʿlaba of the Asad tribe. To the north of this spring and to the west of the Pilgrim Road rises the hill of al-Aġwal, the property of the Beni Miḳaṭ of the Ṭajj tribe, who draw water from the wells of Ubḍa situated in a black, nearly impassable volcanic tract. Northwest of al-Aġwal, within twelve miles of Fejd, is the hill of Daḥnân, belonging to the Beni Nebhân clan of the Ṭajj tribe, and northeast of this hill within ten miles of Fejd is the hillock of al-Rubr, the property of the family of Beni Nuʿejm of the Nebhân clan. North of these hillocks tower the mountains of Ġâš and Ġuldijje, also included within the sacred district of Fejd, from which, however, they are upwards

of thirty miles distant. They belong to the Ma'kel family of the Ġadīla clan of the Asad tribe, who water their flocks at ar-Ramḍ, six miles from the two mountains. Southeast of this point the hill of aṣ-Ṣadr rises close by a valley supplied with ground water. This hill also is the property of the Beni Ma'kel. Farther east, thirty-six miles from Fejd, stretches the stony plain of al-Ḥalla, which belongs to the Beni Nāšira clan of the Asad tribe and in which the well of al-Ġatġāte is situated. Between al-Ḥalla and the station of al-Aġfor, fifteen miles from Fejd, extend the broad uplands of at-Talam, with the well of az-Zawlānijje of the Beni Nāšira clan. Al-Aġfor does not lie within the sacred district. —

Al-Bekri begins his description of the sacred district in the east, continues it to the south, and, passing by way of the west and north, returns to the east. Al-Aġfor is the modern al-Aġfar, east-northeast of Fejd. The hill of 'Unejza must be sought in the Ḥazm Ṣawwāl, as al-Kahfa (the modern ač-Čhafa) and al-Ba'ūda (the modern al-Ba'ūza) lie at its western base. The sand desert does not abut upon Fejd; however, more or less extensive sand dunes are to be found on the plain to the east of this settlement, and hence al-Bekri's sand desert of Ġurād may be identical with the plain of as-Sa'ire, and the Neġfat al-Marrūt, we may assume, were the hillocks along the *še'ib* of Ab-al-Krūš. Bawlān (now Bôlān) is a plain to the southwest of ač-Čhafa. Mount al-Ramr is situated on the left side of Wādi Turmus southwest of the Bôlān plain and south-southeast of Fejd. Ar-Ruḥejme and at-Ta'labijje are the modern ar-Ruḥejmi and at-Ta'elbi at the foot of al-Ramr. South of the last rises the isolated hill of Ēdne, under which the spring of Feġr wells up, in all probability the ancient Adana and Taġr. The spring of al-Af'a' appears by the river bed of al-'Azejm to the southwest of al-Ramr. 'Ajān al-Karnejn are the modern al-Kranên between which the Pilgrim Road runs. Al-Aġwal is a hill north of al-Kranên, by which the well of al-Abze (no doubt identical with al-Bekri's Ubda) is situated. Al-Rubr is a spring welling up on the southern slope of the Salma mountains almost due north of al-Abze. Ġuldijje, now al-Gildijje towers to the north of Fejd. The hill of aṣ-Ṣadr is now the tabular hill of aṣ-Ṣidr situated by a spring of that name to the southeast of al-Gildijje. The plain of al-Ḥalla is the modern al-Kā', and al-Ġatġāte is al-Ġetjāte of today. Some of the Šammar clans pronounce ġ as j (y). At-Talam are the tabular hills of Rḥajjet an-Nābje and al-Lwêbde.

Jâkût, *Mu'ġam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 33, states that the extensive red mountain of al-Ġubejl, rising within sixteen miles of the oasis of Fejd, is included within the sacred district of Fejd. It is said to be the only mountain between this oasis and al-Kûfa. — It is perhaps identical with al-Wabrije northeast of Fejd.

In 1165 a rumor spread that pilgrims had been attacked a year previously at Fejd, at-Ta'labijje, and Wākiša, as well as in other places and that many of them had perished in the engagements. On account of this rumor and also because the crops that year had failed and hence everything was dear, the pilgrimage to al-Medina did not take place. Pest raged in the desert and carried off many Bedouins and their herds. (Ibn al-Aṭir, *Kāmil* [Tornberg], Vol. 11, p. 211.)

By order of Ġemâleddin abu Ġa'far, who was a vizier of the lord of Mosul and died in 1163, the station of Fejd was refortified (*ibid.*, p. 203).

When he was at Fejd in the spring of 1185, Ibn Ġubejr (*Rihla* [De Goeje], p. 205) saw a strong fort provided with towers and standing on a flat plain. Close by he saw a suburb encompassed with old ramparts and inhabited by Arabs who traded with the pilgrims. The latter had friends among the inhabitants and confided to them such portion of their stores as was considered sufficient for the return journey from Fejd to Bagdad.

Jâġût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 927, states that Fejd is a small town almost midway between al-Kûfa and Mecca and that the pilgrims leave part of their stores under the care of the inhabitants, whom they repay with a certain fee. This arrangement was very convenient for the pilgrims and the inhabitants, who for a whole year prepared fodder which they afterwards sold to the pilgrims for their animals. As-Sakûni records (*ibid.*) that Fejd comprises three districts inhabited by the 'Omajrijjûn, the Abu Salâme family of the Hamdân clan, and the Beni Nebhân of the ʿTajj tribe. The journey from the station of Fejd by way of al-'Orejme to Wâdi al-Ķura' occupies six nights. To the north of this station there is no road to Syria, the space intervening between Fejd and Zubâla and al-'Aġaba being one unrelieved sweep of sand desert; it is not traversed by wayfarers as it is not certain that water will always be obtainable. For that reason the road makes a detour in order to avoid the desert.

Abu-l-Feda', *Taġwîm* (Reinaud and De Slane), p. 97 and notes 15f. on p. 101, gives a similar account of the situation of Fejd and of the stores deposited there by the pilgrims. He adds that the distance from Fejd to al-Kûfa measures 109 parasangs, the two mountain ranges of the ʿTajj tribe being 36, and the fortified and well-watered settlement of aṭ-Ta'labijje 86, miles distant. The Leiden manuscript of the *Taġwîm* contains a note to the effect that Fejd is a flourishing town with numerous inhabitants and a market place. The territory of the ʿTajj tribe extends from Fejd as far as Ķabr al-'Ibâdi; the latter lies within 29 miles of aṭ-Ta'labijje.

Ibn Baṭṭûṭa (*Tuġfa* [Defrémery and Sanguinetti], Vol. 1, pp. 409f.) visited Fejd at the end of 1329. He states that it is a large fort with ramparts, lying in an extensive plain. The Arab population trades with the pilgrims. The latter enter Fejd in battle array with arms in their hands in order to intimidate the Arabs, who gather at the station longing for spoils. When at Fejd, Ibn Baṭṭûṭa met two Arab emirs, sons of Muhanna ibn 'Îsa, who, with a train of both mounted and unmounted attendants, looked after the safety of the pilgrims and their animals.

Ĥaġġi Ĥalfa, *Ġĥân numa'* (Constantinople, 1145 A. H.), p. 531, states that the district of Sa'âde is famous for its town of Fejd, where there is plenty of water and the pilgrims can safely deposit their stores. Within a short distance the Salma mountains of the ʿTajj tribe are to be seen. The watering place of Ramr Marzûġ lies within two marches of the town and belongs to the Beni Asad. — It is more than questionable whether this watering place was still the property of the Beni Asad in the middle of the seventeenth century.

APPENDIX V

ḤĀLED IBN AL-WALĪD IN AL-BUZĀḤA

A locality called al-Buzāḥa (sometimes written without the article) is known for the victory won there at the beginning of 633 A.D. by Ḥāled ibn al-Walīd over the prophet aṭ-Ṭulejḥa of the Asad tribe (aṭ-Ṭabari, *Ta'riḥ* [De Goeje], Ser. 1, pp. 1886, 1897).

Following information derived from an eyewitness of the Asad tribe, Sejf ibn 'Omar states (*ibid.*, p. 1797) that Tulejḥa ibn Ḥuwēled acted as prophet even before Mohammed's death and, accompanied by many followers, pitched his camp in Samīra. After the death of Mohammed he marched (*ibid.*, p. 1886) from Samīra to al-Buzāḥa, where he was joined by the members of the 'Abs, Dubjān, and Ṭajj tribes. Abu Bekr despatched Ḥāled ibn al-Walīd from Du al-Ḳaṣṣa to march against them, ordering him to proceed against the Ṭajj tribe from the base (*al-aknāf*) of the Salma mountains to al-Buzāḥa and al-Buṭāḥ. Having arrived in the environs of al-Buzāḥa, Ḥāled altered his direction, proceeded to the Aġa' mountains, and pitched his camp in as-Sunḥ. There after three days he was joined by many members of the Ṭajj tribe who had fled from al-Buzāḥa. From there he turned to al-Ansur, where the warriors of the Ġadīla clan of the Ṭajj tribe joined his force. —

From Du al-Ḳaṣṣa near al-Medīna Ḥāled moved towards Samīra by the route later to become Pilgrim Road. Having found no insurgents about Samīra, he probably proceeded from aṭ-Tūzi northwestward along the southwestern spur of the Salma range. The Aġa' mountains proper he surely did not enter, as, once there, he might have been hemmed in without difficulty. Al-Ansur coincides with the modern an-Nsēr, which lies within fifteen kilometers to the south of al-Buzāḥa. Sunḥ must be located near the mountains of Rummān.

Jākūt, *Mu'ġam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 1, p. 344, guided by Abu 'Obejda, says that al-Aknāf denotes the mountains of the Ṭajj tribe, namely the ridges of Salma, Aġa', and al-Farādeġ.

Abu-l-Faḍā'il, *Marāṣid* (Juynboll), Vol. 1, p. 86, states that al-Aknāf belongs to the Salma mountains near Fejd, or, according to others, that it denotes the two ranges of the Ṭajj tribe, Aġa' and Salma. He omits mention of al-Farādeġ.

Jākūt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 380, writes that al-Ansur is a watering place of the Ṭajj tribe on the edge of the sand desert within a short distance of the two ranges.

Following a tradition preserved by 'Emārat al-Asadi, Sejf narrates (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 1, pp. 1891f.) that Ṭulejḥa and his adherents settled in al-Wāredāt. After the death of Mohammed, Tulejḥa was joined by the Rawṭ and Ġadīla clans of the Ṭajj tribe. At that time the Ġadīla had their camps in al-Ḳurdūda and al-Ansur, just outside the sand desert. The Rawṭ camped in al-Aknāf and in the environs of Fejd. Both these clans bore a grudge against the Asad and Raṭafān tribes, by whom they had been oppressed prior to the advent of Mohammed.

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 55, was unable to locate the situation of al-Ḳurdûda. —

Al-Wârdât lies within twenty-five kilometers to the northeast of Samîra; hence the Moslems could not have assembled at that place while Ṭulejha and his adherents were still at Samîra, but only after he had withdrawn to al-Bzâha. Ḥâled first cleared the environs of the Salma and Rummân mountains of Ṭulejha's followers and then, following him to al-Bzâha, encamped in al-Ansur (an-Nsêr) and ultimately in al-Ḳurdûda, a camping ground which I locate near the head of the *še'ib* of al-Ḳurde close to the al-Bzâha group of hills.

The Arabic geographers had no accurate knowledge of the location of al-Buzâha.

Al-Aṣma'i states (al-Bekri, *Mu'jam* [Wüstenfeld], pp. 152f.; Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 601) that it is a watering place of the Ṭajj tribe, whereas aš-Šejbâni assigns Buzâha to the Asad tribe. According to Abu 'Obejda it is a sandy tract beyond an-Nibâġ "opposite" the road to al-Kûfa. — In fact, al-Bzâha lies within the former Ṭajj territory. The discrepancy in the various descriptions will be understood when we consider that the Ġadîla clan of the Ṭajj tribe had their camps in al-Ansur as well as in al-Buzâha. Shortly before Mohammed's day the Beni Asad expelled the Ġadîla and temporarily occupied al-Buzâha. The Ġadîla repaired to the Aġa' range, but the hills in the environs of al-Buzâha remained under the control of the Asad until the defeat of Ṭulejha.

Abu Miḥnaf (at-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 1, p. 1889) narrates that Ḥâled encamped in the Aġa' mountains, reinforced his army, and engaged the enemy in Buzâha.

Hišâm ibn al-Kalbi (*ibid.*, p. 1887) records that Ḥâled moved from the watering station of Du al-Ḳaṣṣa against Ṭulejha, who awaited him at Buzâha, the watering place of the Beni Asad. Having approached the enemy, Ḥâled despatched two spies, who, however, were slain. Then he turned against the Ṭajj tribe. Hišâm ibn al-Kalbi (*ibid.*, p. 1889) learned at second hand that Ḥâled had advanced as far as the town of Uruk in the Salma mountains. — Uruk was a watering place with a small grove of palms at the northeastern base of the Salma range.

According to a version preserved by Sahl ibn Jûsuf (*ibid.*, p. 1897), Sejf records that Ḥâled enquired at al-Ramr of the members of the Asad tribe as to the teaching of Ṭulejha. — Al-Ramr lies on the road from al-Wârdât to an-Nsêr.

According to the version of an eyewitness (*ibid.*, p. 1898), Sejf states that the Moslems did not capture a single maiden of the Asad tribe when in al-Buzâha, because the maidens were well guarded in a place lying, according to Abu Ja'kûb, between Miṭkab and Felġ. The women of the Kejs tribe at the time were between Felġ and Wâset and could not escape. In order to save them the Kejs embraced Islam. Ṭulejha fled to the Kalb and settled with them in Naġ'. —

Al-Buzâha was the headquarters of Ṭulejha's adherents, where there were neither their tents nor their wives, children, or flocks; probably, however, a few younger women and girls were there who cooked for the tribesmen. Before the battle the Asad had hidden most of their womenfolk between Miṭkab and Felġ, whence they could flee after a defeat to the

camps of their tribe. The ʔejs chose a place between Felğ and Wâseṭ in which to hide their women; this place, however, was discovered by the Moslems. The context shows that Miṭḡab, Felğ, and Wâseṭ ought to be located near al-BuzâĦa, as the eyewitness who reports on these events was well acquainted with the environs.

Caetani, *Annali* (1905), Vol. 2, p. 617, records that the women of the Banu Asad were well guarded, whereas the women of the ʔejs ibn Falğ and Wâsiṭ clans were left between Miṭḡab and Felğ. Caetani, misled by the local names Felğ and Wâseṭ, formed the clans of ʔejs ibn Falğ and Wâsiṭ, of which nothing was known to the Arabic authors.

TulejĦa fled on horseback and his wife on a camel (at-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 1, p. 1891; Jâḡûṭ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 602); thus they could not have taken a northerly direction and passed through the Nefûd desert where their animals would have perished of thirst. They also could not have escaped to the west where they would have encountered the Moslem warriors. The only possible direction for their flight to the Kalb territory would have been to the east and northeast around the edge of the Nefûd. Therefore an-Naḡ' must be located east or northeast of al-BzâĦa.

Jâḡûṭ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 701, states that Buḡ' is a locality within the Kalb territory in Syria and that TulejĦa settled there after his defeat at BuzâĦa. —

In the Kalb territory settlements in which it was possible to make a permanent stay (*istaḡarra*) are to be found only at the oasis of al-Ġowf and in the SirĦân depression north of the Nefûd, where, however, no signs can be discovered of a settlement of Naḡ' (or Buḡ'). Furthermore, as it cannot be imagined that TulejĦa and his wife could have proceeded northward through the Nefûd, the settlement in which he found a permanent abode must be sought to the south or southeast of the Nefûd. In fact, within 130 kilometers to the northeast of al-BzâĦa we find the settlement of Baḡ'a', inhabited up to the present time. Before the birth and during the lifetime of Mohammed the Kalb oppressed both the Asad and Ṭajj tribes, for at this time their camping grounds lay in the Nefûd and on its confines, whence subsequently they spread farther north. The settlement of Baḡ'a' belonged to them.

Aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 1, p. 1901, writes that Hâled ibn al-Walîd stayed one month at al-BuzâĦa and made various long and short expeditions against the camps of his enemies. Many men had been burned by him, many butchered, many stoned to death, and many thrown headlong from the mountain tops. —

The defeated adherents of TulejĦa probably hid themselves in the gorges of the Eġa' mountains. Having succeeded in discovering them, Hâled may well have demolished many of their camps by throwing down large rocks on them; he may have set their tents on fire by flinging down burning boughs; and many who would have sought refuge on the secluded peaks may have been driven over the precipices by his arrows.

Al-Belâdori, *FutûĦ* (De Goeje), p. 97, records that Hâled pursued the fugitives from BuzâĦa and overtook some in Rammân and some in Abânân, where he compelled them to give allegiance to Abu Bekr. — The Rummân mountains lie within about fifty kilometers to the south of

al-Bzâḥa on the transport road to the district of al-Jemâma. The two mountains of Abân, between which the valley of ar-Rma' winds its way, rise by the same road.

APPENDIX VI

PAGES FROM THE HISTORY OF TEJMA

The oasis of Tejma is mentioned in the Bible, which makes its inhabitants the issue of Abraham and his wife Keturah rather than Ishmaelites, as has already been suggested in my *The Northern Heġâz*, p. 296. This suggestion is supported by the Septuagint. The Hebrew text used by the Greek translator represents an older and, in many respects, better version than the text of the present Hebrew Bible. Whereas the Hebrew Genesis 25: 3 mentions as descendants of Abraham and Keturah Saba and Dedan only, the Septuagint version of this passage records in the accusative case: "Saban," "Taiman," and "Dedan." Since the nominative of Saban reads Saba, it seems probable that the nominative of Taiman is Taima or Têma and that the Hebrew text used by the translator referred to the inhabitants of the oasis of Têma as descendants of Abraham and Keturah and relatives of Saba and Dedan, with whose territories they bordered and in connection with whom they are often mentioned in other reports.

The Hebrew Genesis 25: 15 classes Têma with Ḥadad and Jeṭûr, descendants of Ishmael; the Septuagint version of the same passage, however, more correctly records the tribe of Taiman (rather than Têma) as consanguineous with Ḥadad and Jeṭûr, since, as we know from other passages, the Taiman or Têmân tribe, which was also related to the Edomites (Genesis 36: 11), camped in the vicinity of the Ishmaelite territory (see *The Northern Heġâz*, pp. 250, 296), about 500 kilometers from the oasis of Têma (Tejma).

Isaiah 21: 13—15 describes the destruction that threatens the caravans of the Dedan (Daidan of the Septuagint) who flee and in the evening hide themselves in a thick wood lest either they themselves or their fires be seen. The inhabitants of the land of Têma are admonished to bring water to the thirsting and to offer bread to the fleeing. —

There is no doubt that the inhabitants of the oasis of Têma had colonies along the transport route from Dedan (al-'Ela') to the north. It seems clear that in early times there was a road to Têma branching off from this route at the site of the modern station of al-Mu'azzam; thus the Dedan could have been supplied by the inhabitants of Têma either at this station or in its vicinity. Acacia (*sejâl* and *ṭalh*) and tamarisk thickets are very abundant in these parts and form thick copses in which fugitives may find refuge.

Jeremiah 25: 23—24 foretells the ruin which threatens Dedan, Têma, and Bûz, as well as all with shaven heads, all the kings of Arabia, and all the kings of the Arabs who live in the desert. —

Here Têma is spoken of together with Dedan and with the inhabitants of the oasis of Bûz in the depression of Sirhân. The chiefs of such settlements were called by Jeremiah kings of Arabia; the "kings of the Arabs living in the desert" were nomad chiefs. (See *The Northern Hejâz*, pp. 274—275.)

Job 6: 19 f. describes the caravans of the Têma and the trading expeditions of the Šeba' searching in vain for the rain water remaining in the valleys and river beds. All the moisture had evaporated. — Here also the inhabitants of Têma are mentioned in connection with the Sabaeans, the masters of the great caravan routes of Arabia.

Nabonidus' Chronicle (Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts* [1924], pl. 12), obverse, col. 2, lines, 5, 10, 19, 23 (Pinches, *Cuneiform Inscription* [1882], pp. 156 f., 160 f.; Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 111 f.; Schrader in *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* [1889—1900], Vol. 3, Part 2, pp. 130, 132), reports that King Nabonidus stayed at Tema' from 552 until 545 B. C. A new fragment of this Chronicle (Smith, *op. cit.*, pl. 11), obverse, col. 1, lines 11—22 (Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 111), tells of an expedition in 552 B. C. against Adummu and Tema'. The British Museum Tablet 38,299 (Smith, *op. cit.*, pl. 7), obverse, col. 2, lines 22—29 (Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 84), gives a poetical account on Nabonidus' far journey on a road not used in earlier times towards Tema' in Amurru. Nabonidus captured the city, killed its king and many of his subjects, adorned the city, and built a palace for himself like the palace of Babylon. —

According to the text published by Smith the city of Tema' lay in Amurru, and Nabonidus marched toward it by way of Adummu. Amurru designates the regions west of Babylonia, especially Syria; Adummu may be the Biblical Edom. Can we assume that Amurru extended as far as our oasis of Tejma? We should expect that the Chronicle would have placed our Tejma in Aruba (Arabia) and not in Amurru, the latter name being applied to tilled and settled regions in the west. From Adummu (Edom) to our Tejma the king would have had to march for 450 kilometers through barren land. The march across the desert lasted at least twenty days, and the poetical report mentions neither desert nor any difficulties encountered, although other reports rather exaggerate the horrors of such marches. The lack of any mention of the desert, the connection of Tema' with Adummu, or Edom, and its location in Amurru, or Syria, therefore, suggest that Nabonidus' residence of Tema' lay in the tilled and settled country of Edom. The Bible refers there to the Têmân tribe, the name of whose principal city, as we have just seen, in some passages appears to have been confused with that of our oasis of Tejma. Residing in Tema' (at-Twâne) in northern Edom, king Nabonidus would have been in a far better position to control all trade routes converging on Egypt and Syria from southwestern and eastern Arabia and to govern his empire than from the oasis of Tejma.

Between the oasis of Tejma and Babylonia extends the sandy Nefûd desert which renders direct communication impossible. All trade caravans proceeding from Babylonia to Tejma have to make a detour either north or south of the Nefûd. Only caravans marching to Egypt or Syria from the Persian Gulf had to cross the oasis of Tejma, and for these alone Tejma was an important station. Considering that a traveler advancing from Tejma to Babylonia has to march about 1,200 kilometers across an in-

hospitable desert and that the distance between Tejma and the border of the settled and tilled Edom (or Syria) is about 450 kilometers, we perceive the nearly insurmountable difficulties that would have been encountered in governing the Babylonian empire from such an unfavorably situated place. The natural location of Tejma, far from the main trade routes, precludes it from exercising any influence over the oases and tribes of northwestern Arabia, and it is more than improbable that it could have been a center of Assyrian or Babylonian administration. Quite different would be the significance of a Tema' located in northern Edom.

Dougherty, *Records from Erech* (1920), publishes as No. 134 a tablet dated in the tenth year of Nabonidus (546 B. C.) which relates that food for the king was carried to the land of Tema'. The tablet No. 294, published by Dougherty, *Archives from Erech* (1923), accounts for 50 shekels of silver for one road donkey and its flour paid to its owner, who was sent to the land of Tema' in the fifth year of Nabonidus (551 B. C.). — These and similar records prove that there was frequent intercourse between Êreḥ (al-Mḳajjer) in lower Babylonia and the land of Tema'. Were it not for the texts published by Smith (see above, p. 225) we ought to locate the land of Tema' somewhere on the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf, thus neither in northern Edom nor in our oasis of Tejma. The donkey sent from Êreḥ to Tejma would have had to march about 1200 kilometers through barren lands. Carrying flour and rider, it could hardly have covered more than 30 kilometers a day on so arduous and long a journey and would have had to be provided with water and fodder. The rider, too, could not have lived for the forty or, with the necessary rests, fifty days on flour only and would have needed water every day. Assuming that the man and his donkey marched from Êreḥ to our oasis of Tejma, we have to assume that they followed a route provided with stations where they could be supplied with water, fodder, and other provisions every evening. As long as no Babylonian or Assyrian record justifies such an assumption, the location of Tema' in our oasis of Tejma must remain at best highly doubtful.

Through their active part in trade, the inhabitants of Têma came into contact with both the Assyrian and Egyptian civilizations, as may be seen from an inscription (*Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum*, Part 2, Vol. 1, No. 113) according to which Peṭosir's son, Salmšezeb, a priest, erected a stele consecrated to Šalm of Hagam, a god. On this stele Salmšezeb secured the priest's office in the temple of Šalm of Hagam for himself and his sons and, with the consent of gods and of the king of Têma, also the share due to the temple from the output of the common lands. The gods of Tejma were: Šalm of Maḥram, Sangala, and Asîra. The name of the town, Têma, is spelt as in the Bible.

Abu-l-Faraġ, *Aṛāni* (Bûlâġ, 1285 A. H.), Vol. 8, pp. 72 f., 82; Vol. 19, p. 98, describes the flight of the poet Imrulkajs and his guide from the territory of the Beni Fezâra to Chief as-Samaw'al, who occupied a stronghold (*hoṣn*) in the oasis of Tejma. On the way the poet caught sight of an antelope wounded by a shot and captured it. Presently the hunters of the Beni Tu'al clan made their appearance. The Beni Tu'al were as-Samaw'al's neighbors, and hence they escorted the poet to Tejma where as-Samaw'al received him with hospitality. Imrulkajs deposited one hundred suits of artistically wrought armor with the chief and himself went away

to Syria. Thereupon al-Ĥâret ibn Zâlem, or, as others state, al-Ĥâret ibn Abi Šimmer, the Ghassanian, at the head of a strong band moved to the oasis of Tejma and demanded the surrender of the suits of armor. Having captured a young son of as-Samaw'al, who was hunting, he threatened to kill him if his request were not complied with. As-Samaw'al did not surrender the accouterments, and al-Ĥâret cut the lad in two. According to some authorities, as-Samaw'al's mother was descended from the Ghassanian tribe, and the name of his father was Kâhen ibn Harûn ibn 'Omrân. Al-Ablağ, the fort in which he resided, had been formerly held by 'Âdija, one of his ancestors, at whose order a deep well of spring water was sunk close by. The Arabs used to visit this hospitable fort to purchase what they required. —

The fort of al-Ablağ was probably a square enclosure, surrounded by a high wall against which small houses were built, leaving an open area in the center. This was entered by a single gate in the wall and used also as a market place.

Al-A'ša, the poet (*ibid.*, Vol. 6, p. 88), composed a poem in which he abused some Arab of the Kalb tribe. The offended Arab attacked the camp in which A'ša was staying at the time and took him prisoner. However, as he did not know that the prisoner was the poet himself, he took him to the oasis of Tejma, of which Šurejh ibn as-Samaw'al ibn 'Âdija, the Ghassanian, was master at the time. Šurejh recognized the poet and helped him to liberty again. Another account of the same event (*ibid.*, Vol. 19, p. 99) does not refer to as-Samaw'al as a Ghassanian, an omission which seems to be fully justifiable, since the family of as-Samaw'al was of Jewish extraction.

Al-Wâkedi, *Marâzi* (Wellhausen), p. 292, states that when the Jews, to whom the oasis of Tejma belonged, had received news of the annihilation of their co-religionists in Ḥajbar, they surrendered to Mohammed and contributed the *ġizja*, or head tax. The caliph 'Omar is said to have expelled the Jews from the oases of Ḥajbar and Fadak but not from the Wâdi al-Ḳura' and Tejma, because the Wâdi al-Ḳura' belongs to Syria, whereas the Ḥeġâz begins south of the spot. —

The reason given for 'Omar's not having expelled the Jews from Tejma is an invention of a later date and contradicts another tradition, according to which Mohammed fixed the oasis of Tebûk as marking the border between the Ḥeġâz and Syria. As a matter of fact, the Ḥeġâz extended at that time, and still extends, as far as the aš-Šera' mountains. Only when the political administration had changed did the political frontiers of Syria and the Ḥeġâz shift in such a way that the Wâdi al-Ḳura' was not infrequently politically incorporated with Syria.

An-Narsi (al-Belâdori, *Futûḥ* [De Goeje], pp. 34f.) records that the caliph 'Omar expelled the Jewish population from the oases of Fadak, Tejma, and Ḥajbar. Al-'Abbâs ibn 'Âmer (*ibid.*, p. 35) states that the caliph Moawiyah purchased the lands of a certain Jew in the Wâdi al-Ḳura'. — According to this the Jews could not have been expelled from the Wâdi al-Ḳura'; it is, however, possible that Moawiyah bought these lands before he had become caliph, or, in other words, before the Jews had been banished by 'Omar. At any rate, the large reservoir of Tebûk was built by a Jewish architect.

The poet Ša'ba ibn Rurejd, nephew of as-Samaw'al ibn 'Âdija, em-

braced Islam (Abu-l-Faraġ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 18) and was an ardent follower of 'Ali. Once the caliph Moawiyah saw him saying his prayers at the Ḥarām in Mecca. He sent for him and then expressed the wish to buy his lands in the oasis of Tejma. The poet agreed to this, for his family was suffering the direst penury, and asked for sixty thousand dinars. Moawiyah gave him the money and became lord of his estate at Tejma. —

According to this record, during Moawiyah's reign the Jews still owned landed estates at Tejma. Thus 'Omar could not have expelled them.

On May 29, 659, the caliph Moawiyah despatched 1700 warriors headed by a chief of the Fezâra tribe to Tejma to collect from the nomads of the surrounding country the *ṣadaqa* (a tax on the Moslems) (at-Ṭabari, *Ta'riḥ* [De Goeje], Ser. 1, p. 3446; al-Ja'kûbi, *Ta'riḥ* [Houtsma], Vol. 2, pp. 230f.). As soon as 'Ali had learned of this he also despatched a chief of the Fezâra tribe with warriors to Tejma. A battle took place before the oasis, and the adherents of Moawiyah were defeated. Some fled to Syria, others took refuge in the fort of the oasis. The Bedouins captured the camels requisitioned as *ṣadaqa* and aided the followers of 'Ali in siege warfare. Three days later they heaped up fuel outside the barbican and set it on fire. The lives of the garrison were threatened, but the two commanders arrived at an agreement, put out the fire, and at night Moawiyah's soldiers fled to Syria.

In the time of the poet Ġamīl ibn 'Abdallāh, the contemporary of the caliph al-Walid ibn 'Abdalmalek, the environs of Tejma belonged to the Beni 'Udra (Abu-l-Faraġ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 7, p. 95).

According to Ibn Ḥordādbeh, *Masālik* (De Goeje), p. 128, Tejma was incorporated with the administrative district of al-Medīna. In Tejma, which lies between the Ḥeġāz and Syria, there rose the fort (*ḥoṣn*) of al-Ablak al-Fard, where at one time as-Samaw'al ibn 'Ādiġa, king of the Jews, resided.

Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Buldān* (De Goeje), p. 26, enumerates, in the direction of Syria, the following settlements: Ḥajbar, Wādi al-Ḳura', Tejma, Dūmat al-Ġandal, and Fadak, the last being situated nearest to al-Medīna.

Al-Iṣṭaḥri, *Masālik* (De Goeje), p. 22, describes the oasis of Tejma as a fort more densely inhabited than Tebūk, to the north of which it lies, within three marches of the Syrian frontier. The oasis was said to include extensive palm groves and to be visited as a market place by the Bedouins. — In fact Tejma is southeast of Tebūk.

Al-Hamdāni, *Ṣiḡa* (Müller), Vol. 1, p. 131, states that after three marches from the oasis of al-Ḥeġr one reaches Tejma, the ancient town of as-Samaw'al, situated in a sandy basin. The Beni Ṣaḥr, Beni 'Amr, as well as the Buḥtur clan, all of whom were descended from the Ṭajj tribe and owned houses in the oasis of Tejma, camped between it and al-Ḥeġr. Besides these, the district was inhabited also by the Beni Zurejk and Beni Mirdās, who, as well as the Beni Ġuwejn and al-Rūta', were *mawālī* (wards) of the Ṭajj tribe.

Al-Muḳaddasi, *Aḥsan* (De Goeje), pp. 101, 252f., states that Tejma is the only town in the desert of northern Arabia. He praises it as an ancient town situated in an extensive plain surrounded by numerous palm groves and fertile gardens producing excellent fruits, abounding in wells of fresh and very palatable spring water which in one place gushes from

an opening stopped with an iron disk and fills a large reservoir, from which, again, it is distributed into the gardens. The ancient houses lay in ruins and only along the market place a massive cathedral mosque (*ġâme'*) and a few buildings were to be seen. The inhabitants were depraved and did not observe either their religious or their political duties. A greengrocer acted as preacher, and a shoemaker as judge. They both sought only their own profit. In times of insurrection, which were very frequent, the inhabitants wore the armor of David. — This armor was so named after one Dâ'ûd, or David, a Jew who made it.

Al-Bekri, *Mu'ġam* (Wüstenfeld), pp. 208f., 419, 465, writes that the fortified town of Tejma lies on the shore of Lake al-'Uķejr, which is fed from the river Fiĥa, in the midst of extensive gardens of palms, fig trees, and vines. The inhabitants belong partly to the Beni Ġuwejn and 'Amr clans of the ʿĤajj tribe. The gardens of Ra'bal and al-Kibs are both particularly fertile. Al-Bekri quotes a verse in which the Jew Abu-d-Dajjâl laments that his co-religionists have been expelled from this oasis. Al-Bekri believes that the event took place in the time of the Prophet. — There is no river in the oasis of Tejma and only after copious winter rains does the water flow down the *še'ib* of Ġrajda' and as-Snânijje, filling the basin beside which Tejma is situated. *Al-fiĥa* is an appellative denoting the bed of the *še'ib* of Ġrajda'.

In July, 1157, there was an earthquake, and Tejma suffered greatly (Ibn al-Kalânisi, *Dajl* [Amedroz], p. 343).

Jâķût, *Mu'ġam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 1, p. 907, knew of the oasis of Tejma as a small settlement on the Syrian Pilgrim Road, which runs along the frontier between Syria and the Wâdi al-Ķura'. The fort of al-Ablaķ al-Fard, which at one time was the property of the Jew as-Samaw'al ibn 'Ādija, towers over this oasis. In consequence it is called Tejma of the Jew. — The Pilgrim Road from Syria, on which Tejma lies, is the road which leads from Damascus along the eastern base of the Ĥawrân through the depression of Sirĥân to Tejma and thence to al-Medîna.

Abu-l-Feda', *Taķwîm* (Reinaud and De Slane), p. 87, writes that the fort of Tejma, situated amidst palm groves, has more inhabitants than Tebûk.

According to al-Maķrizi, *Mawâ'iz* (Codex vindobonensis), fol. 36v., the well-watered settlement of Tejma lies within four marches of the castle of al-Ĥeġr, and its trade is insignificant.

Ĥaġġi Ĥalfa, *Ġihân numa'* (Constantinople, 1145 A. H.), p. 531, states that the fort of Tejma, celebrated for its dates, has more inhabitants than Tebûk. It belonged at one time to the ʿĤajj tribe and had a red and white castle called al-Ablaķ. Three marches from this place, beyond the valley of aṣ-Ṣawwân, which abounds in water, lies Ķalta.

APPENDIX VII

HISTORICAL NOTES ON WÂKŞA AND ITS ENVIRONS

THE CARMATHIAN CAMPAIGNS

In 680 A. D. the adherents of Ḥusejn in Irak rose against the caliph Yazid and called Ḥusejn from the Ḥeġâz to al-Kûfa. 'Obejdallâh ibn Zijâd, Yazid's general, occupied with his forces the entire district lying between Wâkşa and two roads leading to Syria and to al-Başra respectively. In consequence it was impossible to proceed either to al-Kûfa or from it. Ḥusejn learned of this only when approaching the station of Wâkşa. He deflected his retinue towards Syria and engaged his opponents at Kerbela. (Aṭ-Ṭabari, *Ta'riḥ* [De Goeje], Ser. 2, p. 285.)

Ibn Roste, *A'lâk* (De Goeje), p. 175, states that the station of Wâkşa has numerous inhabitants, many solid houses, spring wells, and cisterns with rain water.

In the first half of November, 906, Zikrwaĵh, leader of the Carmathians, marched by way of the watering place of Salmân towards the Pilgrim Road and encamped within four miles of Wâkşa, where he waited for the first detachment of pilgrims. The latter approached as far as Wâkşa, but, hearing from the inhabitants of the impending danger, they hastened to Irak and in that way avoided the Carmathians. When Zikrwaĵh received this news, he killed some of the fodder merchants near Wâkşa, burned their stores, and for several days besieged the inhabitants in their fort. Finally he withdrew to Zubâla. In the meantime the government force seized the various springs on the confines of the desert, and a troop of horsemen, proceeding by way of as-Sibâl, penetrated as far as Wâkşa. The Carmathians plundered several camps of the Asad tribe and at al-'Aġaba encountered another train of pilgrims returning to Khorasan. The pilgrims were given no quarter, and only a few of them made good their escape and brought the intelligence of the massacre to the government forces encamped at Wâkşa; the latter instantly took to their heels. The sultan learned of these events from a message brought by carrier pigeons. He forthwith despatched express couriers, ordering them to advance into the proximity of the Pilgrim Road and to proceed as far as Fejd, in order to warn further detachments of pilgrims. However, the pilgrims' leaders did not heed the warning, nor did they hold in any regard the written order issued by the sultan, but continued their march home. The Carmathians filled all the wells and cisterns in the vicinity of Wâkşa with the dead and wounded camels, and, moving to al-'Aġaba, awaited further pilgrim trains, which after fierce fighting were also butchered and robbed. Only women received quarter and were carried off. After filling the wells and pools of al-'Aġaba with corpses, human and animal, the Carmathians proceeded to Zubâla and sent numerous patrols both south and north, as they expected an attack from the government troops encamped at al-Ķâdesijje. Moreover, as the Carmathians did not wish to be deceived by another train of pilgrims which had

been joined by many merchants carrying valuable goods, Zikrwajh moved from Zubâla to at-Ta'labijje and aš-Šukûk, pitched his camp between the latter and al-Bitân on the border of the sandy desert at a spot called at-Ṭulejh, and awaited further pilgrim detachments. The pilgrims, however, learned at Fejd of what had happened and made a stop there to wait for help. Instead of help the Carmathians arrived and commanded the inhabitants of the oasis of Fejd to surrender the administrator of the Pilgrim Road and the government troops, who had occupied the mosque and the two forts. In return, the chief of the Carmathians promised to spare the inhabitants and their property. However, the inhabitants placed very little faith in his veracity, and Zikrwajh, seeing that he could not seize the town, retreated by way of an-Nibâġ and Ḥufejr Abi Mûsa to the al-Bašra territory. (Aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 3, pp. 2269f.; al-Mas'ûdi, *Tanbih* [De Goeje], pp. 374f.; Ibn Ḥaldûn, *Ibar* [Bûlâk, 1284 A. H.], Vol. 4, pp. 87f.) —

Zikrwajh was a native of a hamlet called aš-Šaw'ar lying within four miles of al-Kâdesijje in the direction of al-Kûfa. The watering place of Selmân lies to the northeast within sixty-five kilometers of the station of Wâkşa. Forage dealers supplied Wâkşa with hay and barley, which they sold to returning pilgrims. The locality called Sibâl or Sijâl must be sought to the east of Wâkşa, as the government troops desired to prevent the Carmathians from approaching the Pilgrim Road. Between Wâkşa and al-Kûfa no locality of the name of Sibâl is mentioned. However, we meet with that name on the road from Wâseṭ to al-Medîna.

VARIOUS ARABIC REFERENCES TO WÂKŞA

Al-Mukaddasi, *Aḥsan* (De Goeje), p. 253, states that at the station of Wâkşa there is an inhabited fort with spring wells and a large pond.

In 1101 the members of the Ḥafâġe tribe came to Wâkşa, exhausted the water from the rain ponds called al-Barmaki and ar-Rajjân, and filled them with colocynths. Afterwards they occupied al-'Aḳaba, prevented the returning pilgrims from getting to the water, slew a number of them, and robbed them of nearly all their property, only a very few pilgrims making good their escape. (Ibn al-Atîr, *Kâmil* [Tornberg] Vol. 9, p. 167.) — The tribe of al-Ḥafâġe had for several centuries complete control of the territory lying between al-Ḥadîta on the Euphrates and al-Bašra on the shore of the Persian Gulf. Part of this tribe, so powerful at one time, now have their camps in common with the Ḥazâ'el clan to the east of an-Neġef; another part encamp in northern Syria with the Welde. Al-Barmaki and ar-Rajjân are the names of rain ponds at Wâkşa.

Ibn Ġubejr, *Rihla* (De Goeje), p. 209, says that Wâkşa is the last adequate watering place on the Pilgrim Road. It is situated in an extensive cup-like basin. A spacious fortified building there is occupied by nomads. Behind it are the remnants of old structures and numerous cisterns.

Jâkût, *Muġam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 4, p. 892, speaks of a station called Wâkşa lying within two marches north of Zubâla and al-'Aḳaba. The station belongs to the Beni Šihâb of the Tajj tribe and is called Wâkişat al-Ḥuzûn, being encompassed by wide elevations called *al-ḥuzûn* (see above, p. 191). A pilgrim from al-'Odejb to Mecca traversing the al-Bêḍa

district will arrive at the first elevation, al-Hazn, and will then reach al-ʿAḳaba station in the district of al-Baṣīṭa. Afterwards he will cross a plain near the station of al-Kāʿ and another larger plain by the station of Zubāla, after which he will approach the first sand waste, called aš-Šiḥa. — The district of al-Bêḍa is identical with the plain of al-Bêḍa extending north of Wāḳṣa.

Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 795 f., states that al-Bêḍa is the water of the Beni Jarbûʿ on the edge of al-Hazn between Wāḳṣa and al-ʿOdejb. — This area coincides with our plain of al-Bêḍa. Possibly the water is identical with the Barēt at-Talhât.

In 1328 Ibn Baṭṭûṭa (*Tuhfa* [Defrémery and Sanguinetti], Vol. 1, p. 413) visited the station of Wāḳṣa. He found there a large fortified building inhabited by Arabs, provided with several rain ponds, and visited by numerous merchants from al-Kûfa, who greeted the returning pilgrims and offered them flour, bread, dates, and vegetables. North of Wāḳṣa there was no adequate watering place, and it was necessary to proceed as far as the canals issuing from the Euphrates.

Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *Marâṣid* (Juynboll), Vol. 3, p. 272, states that Wāḳṣa is a station on the Pilgrim Road south of al-Ḳar'a. According to others it is a steep slope belonging to the Beni Šihâb, situated within two days' march north of Zubāla, and called Wāḳṣat al-Ḥarûn. — The station of Wāḳṣa lies on the southern foot of the slope of al-Ḥḳej or Ḥḳej Wāḳṣa. Instead of "al-Ḥarûn," "al-Ḥuzûn" should be read.

CISTERNS AND WELLS ON THE PILGRIM ROAD NEAR WĀḲṢA

During the reign of the Abbassides there were many more cisterns to be found along the Pilgrim Road than there are now. Thus Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, col. 3, pp. 575 f., knew of a rain pond called Ḳarib two miles beyond Aḥsa Beni Wahab between al-Ḳar'a and Wāḳṣa (i. e. north of Wāḳṣa). Al-Murtama, a well 40 fathoms deep with little and not very good spring water, was, according to Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 487, situated between the stations of al-Ḳar'a and Wāḳṣa. Close by were a cistern and tombs in ruins. Within five miles of this place was a locality called Aḥsa Beni Wahab. West of Wāḳṣa, at about one very short march (*daḥwa*) from aš-Šibâk, Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 166, mentions a place of the name of al-Ġuwej. Šubejb lay two miles from here.

In 634—635 Sa'd ibn Abi Waḳḳâs, marching on Irak, wintered by the wells of Šerâf, where al-Muṭanna ibn Hâreṭa died. From Šerâf he proceeded against the settlement al-Kâdesijje occupied by Persian troops. (Aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 1, pp. 2202, 2349.)

One of the warriors who had slain Husejn, son of ʿAli, fled on his camel from Kerbela by way of Šerâf and Wāḳṣa and disappeared in the desert (*ibid.*, Ser. 2, p. 661). — He undoubtedly followed the ancient road by way of aš-Šammit to Šerâf.

Naṣr says (Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 270) that Šerâf is a watering spot in Neġd. As-Sakûni locates Šerâf between the stations of Wāḳṣa and al-Ḳar'a within nine miles of al-Aḥsa Beni Wahab. At Šerâf there are three large wells over twenty fathoms deep; they contain plenty of

spring water, which, however, is not very palatable. There are also numerous *ḵulub* (wells containing rain water). The distance from Šerâf to Wâḳṣa measures two miles, and al-Lawza, a rain pond, lies between the two places. —

The present wells of Šerâf also lie in Neġd, and therefore we may identify them with the wells of Šerâf referred to by Naṣr. Al-Aḥsa Beni Wahab must be located about seventeen kilometers north of Šerâf. As-Sakûni employs the term *bîr* for a spring water well and *ḵelib* for a well in which rain water collects. Al-Lawza, as-Sakûni's rain pond, may be identical with Lowza, the rain well lying south of al-Ḳar'a'.

Abu-l-Faḍâ'il (*op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 21) writes that the rain pond of al-Lawza is also called al-La'ura and adds that it lies between Wâḳṣa and al-Ḳar'a'. — Beyond Šerâf commences ar-Radife, an elevation extending from west to east, and to the north behind it on the Pilgrim Road of az-Zobejde are the following remains of ancient stations and rain ponds: the Barēt al-Ḥarâb; al-Mafrež; the well of Lowza some distance east of the road; the Ḥabra-l-Ḥabijje on the road itself; farther north, the well called as-Smê'a; the ancient station of al-Ḳar'a'; the Barēt aṭ-Ṭalhât west of the road; the ancient station of al-Msejġed on the road; al-Ḥammâm; the station of al-Mrite at the beginning of the al-Âṣi valley; the artificial rain pond called Brejġet Ḥamed in the Ummu-s-Sbâ' valley; the Ummu Ḳrûn; and the artificial rain ponds of as-Sitt Zobejde in the Abu Ṭalh valley.

Al-Ḳar'a'

Al-Ḳar'a' is an ancient station which now bears the same name.

In 684 al-Muhtâr proceeded from al-Medîna by way of al-Ḳar'a' to the lake by the town of al-Ḥîra and thence to al-Kûfa (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, pp. 531f.).

In 872 a great number of pilgrims returned to the station of al-Ḳar'a', being afraid of thirst, as the pilgrimage of that year was due at the end of summer (*ibid.*, Ser. 3, p. 1873).

Ibn Roste, *op. cit.*, p. 180, knew of a route from al-Kûfa to al-Baṣra by way of al-Ḳar'a' and Mesġed Sa'd, and thence by way of Bâreḵ or Mârek.

Al-Muḳaddasi, *loc. cit.*, found at al-Ḳar'a' a number of spring wells from which, however, no water was drawn.

Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 61, states that the station of al-Ḳar'a' lies between al-Murîṭa and Wâḳṣa, within eight miles of the latter. On the same Pilgrim Road between al-Murîṭa and al-Ḳar'a' are: az-Zobejdijje, Mesġed Sa'd, and al-Ḥabra, and, within three miles to the south of al-Ḳar'a', the well of al-Marja. At al-Ḳar'a' there were a rain pond and reservoirs of the Beni Redâne. At this watering spot the Beni Jarbû' killed a man of the Beni Dârem ibn Mâlek clan, a murder which gave rise to a long war.

Jâḳût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 92, writes that Ḥammâm Sa'd lies on the Pilgrim Route from al-Kûfa. At Mesġed Sa'd, within six miles of az-Zobejdijje, between al-Ḳar'a' and al-Murîṭa, is a rain reservoir and well 85 fathoms deep. The water is hard and is drunk by both men and camels, but only when they are in distress.

Al-Murîta

During the reign of the caliph al-Ma'mûn (813—833 A. D.) the *kaşr* of al-Murîta was held by Ismâ'il ibn Ğa'far ibn Slîmân, former administrator of the al-Başra district (Abu Tâhir Tâjfur, *Barðâd* [Keller], p. 104; Abu-l-Farağ, *Arâni* [Bûlâk, 1285 A. H.], Vol. 18, p. 17).

Al-Mukaddasi, *loc. cit.*, states that at the half-ruined station of al-Murîta there is only one well.

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 585, records that the station of al-Murîta, situated on the Pilgrim Road from al-Kûfa to Mecca, was originally a town, but that it had been demolished. Its inhabitants, of the Beni Nebhân tribe, drank only rain water. Between the stations of al-Murîta and al-Ķar'a' is az-Zobejdijje. Al-Azhari, according to Jâkût, remarks that the watering place of az-Zobejdijje lies between al-Ķâdesijje and al-'Odejb, whereas others assert that it is thirty-two miles from al-Murîta to al-Ķar'a', and twenty-four from the latter to al-Ķâdesijje.

Abu-l-Fadâ'il, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 128, adds that the station of al-Murîta is generally known. It comprises a fort, a cistern, and a well.

As-Sakûni knew of a watering place called al-Makmen (Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 615), with tolerably good water, lying west of al-Murîta and al-'Aĳaba, within seven miles of al-Jehmûm, the last-named being seven miles from as-Sindijje.

As-Sindijje lies one very short march (*daĳwa*) west of al-Murîta. Within about three miles of al-Murîta lies al-Ĥufejr; al-Jehmûm is six miles from as-Sindijje (*ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 168).

Near the stations of al-Murîta and al-'Aĳaba is the well called an-Nuĳejla, lying to the right of the road west of Wâĳiṣa, between the latter and al-Ĥufejr. This well is three miles from al-Ĥufejr and within seven miles of al-Ġuwej. (*Ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 771.)

Al-Jehmûm is a well to the west of al-Murîta, six miles from as-Sindijje and a short *daĳwa* from al-Murîta (*ibid.*, p. 1012).

Ummu Ķrûn

The Ummu Ķrûn is the Manârat al-Ķurûn of earlier times.

Malek Shah restored and built the cisterns and stations on the Pilgrim Road to Mecca, and leveled up the road where it was too steep. One day he left al-Kûfa and accompanied the pilgrims. He proceeded from al-'Odejb as far as as-Subej'a near al-Wâĳiṣa (spelled with article) and ordered a beacon tower to be built there and decked with the horns and hoofs of the gazelles hunted down by him on the way. The beacon tower is called Manârat al-Ķurûn. (Al-Bondâri, *Tawâriĳ* [Houtsma], pp. 69f.)

Mîrhwând, *Dikr* (Vullers), pp. 107—109, tells us that in 1085-6 A. D. Sultan Malek Shah and his minister Niẓâm al-Mulk went out from Bagdad in order to hunt in the desert. After they had visited the graves of the caliph 'Ali and the caliph Ĥusejn, they entered the desert, hunted down many gazelles and other animals, and then the Sultan ordered the tower of al-Ķurûn to be built with the horns on a site called Sab'i.

Ibn Taṛri Birdi, *Nuĳûm* (Popper), Vol. 2, p. 279, states that in the winter of 1085-6 Sultan Malek Shah killed one thousand—according to

others, ten thousand—gazelles and ordered a tower to be built with their horns. This he called the Umm al-Ḳurūn.

Ibn al-ʿAtīr, *Taʾrīḥ* (De Slane), pp. 23 f., says that Sultan Malek Shah ordered many rain ponds on the Pilgrim Road to be restored or built. The Manārat al-Ḳurūn, a tower on the Pilgrim Road at a spot called as-Subejʿ, was also built by him.

In the spring of 1184 Ibn Ḡubejr (*Rihla* [De Goeje], p. 210) visited the al-Ḳurūn tower, which rose from a desolate plain. The tower resembled a round column, was built with bricks, and was adorned with fine square and octangular designs. Very striking were numerous gazelle horns with which the tower bristled, in such a way that its aspect suggested the back of the porcupine. Many unauthenticated stories were circulated about it. At a short distance away stood a fort with towers of some height at the corners.

Jākūt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 648, and Abu-l-Faḍā'il, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 151, state that the widely known Manārat al-Ḳurūn stands on the Pilgrim Road to Mecca near the station of Wāḳiṣa and was erected by Sultan Ḡelāddowle Malek Shah. This sultan on occasions accompanied pilgrim caravans for some distance and, when returning, ordered hunting pens to be set up, in which he captured some game. The horns and hoofs of the animals he employed to adorn a tower which he erected and in which a horn or hoof was set between every two abutting bricks.

Ibn Baṭṭūta (*Tuḥfa* [Defrémery and Sanguinetti], Vol. 1, p. 413) arrived about the end of 1328 at the Manārat al-Ḳurūn, a tower of moderate height, adorned with gazelle horns, and rising from a level plain remote from any habitation.

Works of Zobejde

Zobejde, the consort of Harun ar-Rashid, left many signs of her activity along this Pilgrim Road, which derives its name from her.

Ibn Ḡubejr, *op. cit.*, pp. 207 f., says that the reservoirs, rain ponds, wells, and khans by the pilgrim track from Bagdad to Mecca all commemorate Zobejde, daughter of Ḡa'far, consort of Harun ar-Rashid, who throughout her lifetime took great care of this road.

According to Jākūt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 591; Vol. 2, p. 917, between the stations of al-Murīta and al-'Odejb there were rain ponds called Umm Ḡa'far and az-Zobejdijje, both deriving their names from Zobejde, daughter of Ḡa'far, mother of Muḥammad al-Emin, and consort of Harun ar-Rashid. At az-Zobejdijje she built a fort and a mosque.

Ibn Baṭṭūta, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 411, almost literally repeats what had been written by Ibn Ḡubejr, *loc. cit.*, on this subject.

As-Sakūni states (Jākūt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 827) that al-Ruwejr is a pool between al-'Aḳaba and al-Kā' on the Pilgrim Road to Mecca. A rain pond and a number of shrines built by Umm Ḡa'far and also called az-Zobejdijje are said to be there.

Jākūt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 98, records that the locality of al-Ḡalḥa' lies within six miles of al-Ruwejr, which is also called az-Zobejdijje and is situated between al-'Aḳaba and al-Kā'. To the westward there is said to be a well fifty fathoms deep with a small quantity of fresh water. The station of al-Kā' is six miles distant.—

Directly south of Wākṣa rises the mound of al-Fhede, and to the southwest of this are the wells of al-Ġill. In the same direction but farther on is the well of aš-Šubrum.

Aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 1, pp. 2210 f., tells us that in 635, during the reign of king Yezdegerd, the Persians were preparing to wage war against the Moslems. In view of this al-Mutanna appealed to al-Medīna for reinforcements and in the rainy season encamped with his troops at Du Kār. His fellow tribesmen seized the watering stations from al-Ġull and Šerāf to Ruḍej near al-Bašra, and watched the movements of the Persian army. — Du Kār is the present Abu Rār. The watering place of al-Ġull, mentioned together with Šerāf, is undoubtedly identical with our al-Ġill.

According to Jākūt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 106, al-Ġull lies in the vicinity of the wells of as-Salmān within eight miles of Wākṣa. Al-Ḥāzemi says (*ibid.*) that Ġull is a locality in the desert on the way from al-Kādesijje to Zubāla, between the stations of al-Ḳar'a' and ar-Rummānatān, sixteen miles from the latter. Elsewhere (*ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 254) as-Sakūni reports that Šubrum is a well of unpalatable water situated nine miles away from the border mountains (*al-ġebel*, or, rather, al-Ġill) on the confines of the desert near al-Kūfa and that it belongs to the Beni 'Eġl.

APPENDIX VIII

HISTORY OF THE HOUSE OF EBEN RAŠĪD

ĠEBEL ŠAMMAR

At about latitude 27° 30' N. and longitude 41° E., more than 800 kilometers to the southeast of Damascus and 700 kilometers southwest of Bagdad, there rise out of a vast plain, which has been leveled by erosion, the granite mountains of Eġa', stretching from north-northeast to south-southwest. About fifty kilometers southeast of this range appears the shorter granite range of Salma'. In the mountain ravines of these ranges there are many springs, the water of which remains on the granite valley floors under a cover of gravel formed from the erosion of the heights. As weathering and freshets break up this gravel, a soil is formed that is productive of various plants, especially date palms, which thrive excellently in the ravines. In the large basin which lies between the two ranges the run-off also collects under a thick layer of sand and can be used for purposes of irrigation. Wherever the ground is naturally well watered great palm gardens have been planted, while smaller level areas have been sown with barley and wheat. During the dry season of the year both require regular irrigation.

The population dwells in small huts built for the most part of unbaked bricks, and the huts of each family are surrounded by an enclosing wall. The main stock of the inhabitants of all the settlements in and about the two ranges is derived from the Beni Tamīm, but all claim to have wandered from "the south (*ġenûb*).". To the south, in central Neġd,

there is far more ground capable of cultivation; the townships are more numerous there and, in consequence of their overpopulation, send out a part of their settlers as colonists to the north. These colonists are very industrious and quite unassuming; they found new settlements at suitable places and pay the lords of these places — mostly nomads — a fifth or fourth part of their produce and give them military service.

The more protected and the more important the position of such settlements, the more rapid and lasting is their development. The ranges of Eġa' and Salma' offer to the settlements protection against complete annihilation by enemy tribes, and their position is very favorable for trading, since the commercial and pilgrim routes from the Persian Gulf and Babylonia to Egypt and Mecca and al-Medīna follow the southern border of the great an-Nefūd desert and therefore touch these oases.

The largest of the settlements is Ḥājel, where the lords of the district used to reside. The ruling family belonged to the nomad tribes of the Šammar, after whom the two ranges and the surrounding country for some distance are called in brief Ġebel Šammar, the Mountains of the Šammar.

ACCESSION AND RULE OF ʿABDALLĀH EBEN RAŠĪD, 1834-1847

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the lord of Ġebel Šammar was Muḥammad eben ʿAbdalmuhsen eben ʿAli. The ruling house of Eben ʿAli hails from the al-Ġaʿāfra clan of the ar-Rabīʿijje division of the ʿAbde tribe of the Šammar.

Against the house of Eben ʿAli there arose a dangerous rival in the house of Eben Rašīd, belonging to the same clan of al-Ġaʿāfra. The chief of this house, ʿAli eben Rašīd, was a friend of Prince Muḥammad, and his sons, ʿAbdallāh and ʿObejdallāh (the latter called ʿObejd for short), had grown up with ʿĪsa, the son of the prince. Both were men of enterprising character and had large followings in various settlements, since they were in the habit of accompanying and defending the trade caravans.

In order to win over ʿAbdallāh, Muḥammad eben ʿAli offered him his daughter to wife. ʿAbdallāh married her but did not cease to encroach upon the power of his father-in-law. Matters soon came to open friction and fighting, and in 1820, after the return from Neġd of the Turko-Egyptians under Ibrāhīm Pasha, ʿAbdallāh had to flee with his family. At first he settled at al-Ḥilla in Irak, but when Prince Eben Saʿūd, who had been defeated by the Egyptians, began to regain his influence, ʿAbdallāh betook himself to ar-Rijād, the new capital of Eben Saʿūd. Here he formed a friendship with Fejṣal, the son of the reigning prince Turki eben Saʿūd, accompanied him on his campaigns, and in 1827 helped him to force ʿĪsa eben ʿAli, now lord of Ġebel Šammar, to recognize Eben Saʿūd's overlordship. Ḥamad eben Šwēʿer was established in Ḥājel as the representative of Eben Saʿūd.

At the beginning of May, 1834, Mešāri eben ʿAbdarraḥmān eben Saʿūd, won over by Egyptian gold, caused Prince Turki to be killed and seized the lordship of ar-Rijād. Fejṣal, the son of the fallen prince, was at that time in the district of al-Ḳaṭīf, where, with his troops, he was besieging various towns. On the news of the rising in ar-Rijād, Fejṣal hastened with his followers to the capital. His friend ʿAbdallāh eben Rašīd with

forty men found his way into the castle, surprised the unsuspecting Mešâri, killed him, summoned Fejşal, and had him proclaimed prince by the majority.

In gratitude Fejşal now nominated 'Abdallâh eben Raşîd his governor (*hâkem*) in Hâjel in place of the former lord Şâleḥ eben Muḥsen eben 'Ali, who had supported the rebellious Mešâri. Thus, at the end of 1834, after fourteen years' absence 'Abdallâh returned to Hâjel, where his old friends, with his brother 'Obejd at their head, gathered round him. The deposed Şâleḥ soon had to leave Hâjel and flee with his family to Brejda in al-Kaşîm, which at the time was occupied by Egyptian troops. In the course of this flight he was overtaken and slain.

By 1837, however, Hâjel was again in the hands of the house of Eben 'Ali, who this time were aided by Turkish troops. The latter were about to install a son of Prince Sa'ûd, who had died in 1814, as prince in ar-Rijâd, and to drive out Fejşal. This son, Hâled by name, had been educated in Egypt. As 'Abdallâh was a friend and supporter of Fejşal, he had to flee from Hâjel with his brother 'Obejd and all his following. He took refuge at the oasis of Ġubba, which lies in the midst of the Nefûd, where he placed himself under the protection of the head chief Eben Raḥîş, his fellow-tribesman. 'Îsa eben 'Ali was left as lord of Hâjel.

The Turkish troops remained only a short time in Hâjel and proceeded farther south to al-Kaşîm. As soon as they had left Hâjel, 'Abdallâh with his followers attacked the great settlement of al-Kfâr, which belonged to the ruling family of Eben 'Ali, drove out the supporters of the house of 'Ali, and chose al-Kfâr as his capital.

When at the beginning of 1838 fresh Turkish troops from al-Medîna advanced through al-Kaşîm against 'Abdallâh, the latter rode to meet them as far as Mustagîdda, offered Ĥurşîd Pasha rich presents, and promised to recognize the Turkish overlordship if the Turks would help him to expel his adversary 'Îsa, hitherto lord of Hâjel. His gifts and promises won the friendship of Ĥurşîd, and 'Abdallâh soon afterwards entered Hâjel as sole lord. The banished 'Îsa hastened to al-Medîna, but at the small village of as-Slejmi was overtaken and slain by 'Obejd, 'Abdallâh's brother. In this manner in the spring of 1838 the house of Eben Raşîd finally succeeded to the lordship of Hâjel. The house of Eben 'Ali was not completely exterminated; it still remained at the head of the al-Ġa'âfra clan, but, with this clan, had to render military service to the house Eben Raşîd.

The new lord, 'Abdallâh, was supported by some 250 Turko-Egyptian soldiers, who had deserted to him with their arms and formed his body-guard. With the help of his dauntless brother, 'Obejd, he soon established peace and order in all the settlements about the two ranges of Eġa' and Salma' and endeavored to win over the various head chiefs of the Šammar by kindness and generosity.

In his internal affairs he was obliged to be very cautious, since he could not afford to provoke either the Turko-Egyptian troops or his own overlord, Prince Eben Sa'ûd, who was at war with the Egyptians. So long as Egyptian garrisons remained in the settlements south and west of his district, he could direct his campaigns only to the east and north. Thus in 1838 he sent his brother 'Obejd with about three thousand camel riders against the disunited settlements in the basin al-Ġowf; these he gradually

forced to pay him tribute (*zeka'*), but without establishing a governor or troops there. Almost at the same time he supported the powerful Egyptian governor, Hurşid Pasha, in his plundering raids against the Harb and Htejm tribes, and in 1843 the returned Prince Fejşal eben Sa'ūd against the followers of 'Abdallāh eben Tnejjān. The unusually rich booty and gifts brought him ever-growing support and enabled him to continue the building and beautifying of his residence in Hājel.

The building of this residence, a large and strong castle called Berzān, had been begun by Muḥammad eben 'Ali and continued by his son and successor, 'Īsa. 'Abdallāh enlarged the castle but had not yet completed it when he died a natural death at the end of April, 1847. He left three sons, Ṭalāl, Met'eb, and Muḥammad.

ṬALĀL EBEN RAŚĪD, 1847-1868. CONQUEST OF AL-ĞOWF

The eldest son, Ṭalāl, was recognized as lord of Hājel. When the last Egyptian garrisons had left inner Arabia by the end of 1840, the power of Prince Fejşal eben Sa'ūd began to grow again, and the lord of Hājel, Ṭalāl, who had married a daughter of Fejşal, had to recognize his overlordship and allow himself to be appointed his governor. As a token of his dependence Ṭalāl sent seven mares every year to Prince Eben Sa'ūd in ar-Rijād; otherwise he was free of all obligations.

Ṭalāl was very peaceful and devoted himself whole-heartedly to increasing the prosperity of his townships. As a result of more than fifty years of fighting, at first with the ambitious princes of the house of Eben Sa'ūd, then with the greedy Turko-Egyptian troops and supporters of the exiled house of Eben 'Ali, the settlements had for the most part been destroyed, the palm groves laid waste, and the wells choked up with boulders and sand. The once industrious settlers formed bands of robbers and attacked the few trade caravans which ventured to proceed from Irak to al-Medīna, so that these had to take new routes. Ṭalāl's warlike uncle, 'Obejd, tracked these bands of robbers like a wolf, exterminated them mercilessly, and in a few years established comparative security of life and property. The choked-up wells were cleared, the old palm groves were cleaned and new ones planted and protected from the sand by high walls, fortified houses (*kşūr*, pl. of *kaşr*) were built in the midst of the palm gardens, craftsmen and merchants from Irak and Syria were introduced, and a regular trade connection was established with Irak. The tent-dwelling Šammar were thereby induced to transact their buying and selling in Hājel and the other townships instead of making the long and dangerous journey to Irak.

In this manner Ṭalāl increased not only the prosperity of his subjects but also his own influence and power and was able to think of extending his dominions. An opportunity offered itself in 1853, when the settlements of al-Ğowf, which had merely paid tribute to their overlords at Hājel, entered upon a fresh war with one another, and the more powerful party refused to pay the tribute. As soon as this news reached Hājel, Ṭalāl sent out a strong force under the leadership of his uncle 'Obejd and his brother Met'eb, to whom the settlements of al-Ğowf soon capitulated. When they again revolted two years later, Ṭalāl himself advanced

against al-Ġowf, besieged one settlement after another, destroyed the impregnable castle of al-Kâra by means of the guns which he had taken over from the Egyptians, shot a breach in the old fort of Mâred in Dûmat al-Ġandalijje, and conquered the whole of the basin. From the year 1855 onward garrisons of the lord of Hâjel occupied the chief settlements, Skâka and Dûma, and his governor dwelt in the Mâred.

At the same time also the oases of Hâjbar and Tejma, abandoned by the Turks, were occupied, and the branches of the Weld 'Ali and Weld Slejmân who encamped between these two places and Hâjel were obliged to pay tribute (*zeka*). To the south the power of Eben Rašîd extended only as far as Fejd and aĉ-Ġhafa, which lay at the southern base of the Salma' mountains and at the same time marked the boundary of the district of al-Kašîm.

The lord of al-Kašîm, Zâmel âl Slêm, who dwelt in the strong fortress of 'Anejza, bore unwillingly the overlordship of Prince Eben Sa'ûd, residing farther south in ar-Rijâd. He negotiated assiduously with Talâl eben Rašîd, but the latter, who at that very time was being pressed on the north and east by the powerful Rwala tribe, was afraid of Prince Fejšal eben Sa'ûd and advised peace.

Under Talâl the building of the Berzân castle was completed, Hâjel was enclosed by a new wall, and the township of al-Kfâr, the possession of the ruling house, was settled with eight hundred families of slaves.

Talâl suffered for several years from an abscess, which embittered his life; he died on March 11, 1868, at the age of 45 years, as the result of a gunshot wound. He was testing a revolver, of an unfamiliar type, which discharged inflicting a mortal wound. The natives will not believe in his suicide, as suicide in Arabia is extremely rare. According to tradition he ruled with his father and alone for twenty-seven years and left six sons, not one of whom died a natural death.

MET'EB (1868-1869) AND BENDER (1869) ACCESSION OF MUĤAMMAD EBEN RAŠÎD

Talâl's successor was not one of his sons, but his brother, the mild and valiant Met'eb. In Arabia neither the right of seniority nor the right of the first born prevails, but the man who is recognized by the majority of the ruling house as their ablest member is accepted by the subjects also as their lord. If, however, no member of the ruling house stands out preëminently above the others, then parties are formed in their midst and each party endeavors to remove, generally by arms, the claimant who is objectionable to them. This is what happened after the death of Talâl. The older members of the house of Eben Rašîd, as well as all the head chiefs of the Šammâr, were for the valiant Met'eb, but the younger members supported their contemporary, Bender, Talâl's eldest son. Met'eb was indeed outwardly accepted as lord by all, but the supporters of Bender continually increased in number. Met'eb hoped to win over his brother's son by mildness, but the latter by his generosity succeeded in drawing to his side even the majority of Met'eb's bodyguard. In January, 1869, he shot Prince Met'eb from an ambush before the Berzân castle in Hâjel. Met'eb, who had ruled barely ten months, left a two-year-old son named 'Abdal'azîz, who at the time had not yet been weaned.

On the news of Met'eb's death the older members of the ruling house, with the old 'Obejd and 'Abdallâh's son Muḥammad at their head, fled to Prince Eben Sa'ûd in ar-Rijâd. The Šammar tribes were then encamped far from Hâjel, and the settlers in the different settlements did not care to intervene. It was all one to them to which member of the ruling house they had to pay tribute and military service. Thus Bender was accepted as lord in Hâjel and the other settlements. But he could not feel secure as long as the cunning 'Obejd and the unscrupulous Muḥammad remained with his overlord, as he knew that both had many supporters among the tribes and in the settlements and that they might influence Prince Eben Sa'ûd against him. Bender now did everything to induce both to return. 'Obejd, who had helped to build up the power of the house of Eben Rašîd and was now almost eighty years of age, died in ar-Rijâd in the spring of 1869. Muḥammad, the son of the first Prince 'Abdallâh, did not appear averse to returning, although with the object, not of following Bender, but of overthrowing him.

Muḥammad was equally popular with the Bedouins and the settlers, since he was recognized as a cautious caravan leader. The settlers of the realm of Eben Rašîd yearly send at least four great trade caravans to Irak. They hire baggage camels from the Bedouins and load them with the few products they can raise, such as wool, goat's and camel's hair, clarified butter, camel fat, camel saddles, saddle covers, etc. Often they are accompanied by camel, sheep, and goat dealers, who drive their purchased herds to Irak and thence along the Euphrates to Syria. Many nomads also associate themselves with these caravans (*ḥadra*) in order to sell their camels or flocks in Irak and to supply themselves with food and clothing. From Irak they bring dates, *tummen* (a kind of rice), wheat, barley, clothing, iron, copper, and, if possible, munitions and arms. Each caravan is under the command of a leader nominated by the prince, who provides for his safety with an adequate number of soldiers. The leader is always accompanied by the chiefs of the different tribes (or their deputies) whose districts the caravan crosses and who offer protection against an attack by members of their own tribe. The caravan may still be plundered by the enemy tribes who encamp farther away — something which usually happens on the return journey when all the camels are heavily laden. The leader counts the camels before they enter Irak and levies a toll for the prince of a quarter of a *meğîdijje* (23 cents) on each camel from the Bedouins, a half a *meğîdijje* per camel from the merchants, and also an indeterminate sum for himself. As the caravans often number more than ten thousand camels and the toll is demanded on the return journey also, the leader earns a considerable sum. If he leads the caravan well and wards off all attacks of plundering enemies, he wins much respect, especially among the settlers, who regard him as the first promoter of their prosperity. The exiled Muḥammad, the son of the dead Prince 'Abdallâh, was such a respected leader of trade caravans. The settlers of Hâjel and the other settlements did not care to equip a great *ḥadra* (caravan) during his absence, lest he should attack it with his followers: Consequently food and clothing became scarce in Hâjel, dissatisfaction grew, and Bender was compelled to make great concessions to Muḥammad and to receive his followers into grace.

At the head of these followers who returned to Hâjel was Ḥmûd,

the artful son of the dead 'Obejd. Muḥammad himself did not return, but at two days' journey northeast of Ḥâjel he joined a trade caravan which had been dispatched to Irak. Their goal was the town of an-Nâsriyye on the lower Euphrates, where grain and dates at that time were very cheap. As they had to cross the district of the Żefir tribe, Muḥammad took the head chief, Eben Swêt, with a large troop of his fellow tribesmen, to accompany him. On his return he did not leave them on the southern border of their tribal district, as the custom was, but brought them to Ḥâjel. The news of his approach and of his escort encouraged his friends in Ḥâjel.

Prince Bender, who could rely only on his young slaves, rode out at the head of his bodyguard against Muḥammad to prevent his uniting with the settlers of Ḥâjel, but he was slain, and his bodyguard was scattered, pursued, and cut down in the streets of the town. Some of his followers escaped with his brothers, Bedr and Maslaṭ, into the Ega' mountains but after some time they too were discovered and slaughtered. Muḥammad was unwilling to take the blame for their murder and had the bearer of the good news of their death immediately beheaded by his executioner. And yet, three years later, two other brothers of Bender, 'Abdallâh and Nahâr, and in the year 1881 the youngest brother, Nâjef, were put to death with the knowledge of the Prince. Thus none of the six sons of Prince Ṭâlal died a natural death.

MUḤAMMAD EBEN RAŠÎD, 1869-1897; ŠAMMAR POWER AT ITS HEIGHT

Muḥammad entered Ḥâjel as ruler on December 25, 1869. Of the ruling house all the descendants of his uncle 'Obejd were on his side, the settlers were all for him, and the Bedouins were ready to follow him on his plundering expeditions.

As a result of the internal disturbances which had been continual in Ḥâjel since 1867, Saṭṭâm eben Ša'ân, the young prince of the Rwala, the most powerful enemies of Eben Rašîd, had, with the help of the Turkish Government, begun to press back Eben Rašîd. The governor of Damascus was ready to extend Turkish influence and resolved to occupy the settlements of the basin al-Ġowf. At the end of February, 1870, Turkish troops set out from Ma'ân, which lies on the Pilgrim Road from Damascus, and, after eight days' traveling in an easterly direction, reached the black hill 'Abd al-Ġowf, where they were expected by some members of the discontented party. But the majority of the settlers remained faithful to Eben Rašîd, nor were they dismayed when the Turks mounted the one gun they had brought with them before the Mâred fort and threatened a bombardment. Prince Muḥammad, informed in good time, appeared with a strong following before al-Ġowf at the end of February, and by means of rich presents persuaded the leader of the Turkish troops to abandon the siege. The districts which had voluntarily surrendered to the Turks were to belong to the Turkish Government, but all the rest were to pay tribute to the lord of Ḥâjel. A Turkish official with eighty men remained in al-Ġowf while the troops with their leader returned to Syria. The Turkish garrison consisted of followers of 'Abdalkâder, the defender of national freedom, who had wandered from Algiers. In a short time, as

a result of their greed for money, this garrison became unpopular and in the autumn of 1870 had to flee hurriedly to Damascus.

Prince Muḥammad now consolidated his power in al-Ġowf and extended it to all the settlements in the depression of Sirḥân as far as the mountains of the Ḥawrân and even to Tudmor (Palmyra), which also was forced to pay yearly tribute to him.

Though personally very courageous, he preferred politics to fighting and gold to lead and steel, and in this way won more than any of his predecessors. He attacked only as a means of inducing his adversaries to accept smaller bribes.

The dominions of his overlord, Eben Sa'ūd of ar-Rijâd, offered a rich field for his political activities and for the extension of his influence. In 1865 the old and infirm Prince Fejşal died, and his sons 'Abdallâh and Sa'ūd were fighting over the succession. 'Abdallâh was indeed generally recognized, but his brother Sa'ūd, governor of the southern districts, conducted himself as an independent ruler and obeyed the commands of the prince only when it pleased him. 'Abdallâh did not trust him and sought help from Muḥammad eben Rašîd, whose sister Nûra he had married. Sa'ūd at length drove 'Abdallâh out of ar-Rijâd, but he died at the end of 1874, and 'Abdallâh with the help of Muḥammad returned as prince to ar-Rijâd. He had, however, to be continually on his guard against internal enemies, and in 1887 these enemies succeeded in capturing him. Muḥammad hastened to his aid, defeated his enemies, but brought him to Ḥâjel, where he interned him. In ar-Rijâd he set up Fejşal's sons, 'Abdarrahmân as prince and Muḥammad as leader of the army.

The former governor of Prince Eben Sa'ūd had now become the latter's overlord; the power of Eben Rašîd was in full flood, his influence extending from Aleppo and Damascus to al-Başra, 'Omân, and al-'Asir.

Muḥammad made brilliant use of his position. By means of presents and threats he induced all the caravan leaders to conduct their caravans by way of his capital, Ḥâjel. Thus the pilgrim caravans traveled no longer by al-Ḥasa' and ar-Rijâd but by Abu Râr, Tḡajječ, and Ḥâjel. Even the trade caravans from al-Ḳaşîm had to take the route through Ḥâjel. Every one of the pilgrims, who sometimes numbered ten thousand, had to pay for water and for his camel thirty *meğîdijjât* (\$27.00) on the outward and fifteen *meğîdijjât* on the return journey. Furthermore, a portion of all goods imported or transported by the pilgrims was exacted as toll. In this manner Muḥammad increased the prosperity not merely of the ruling house but of the settlers who acted as merchants and of the Bedouins who were accustomed to hire out their camels to the caravans.

The inhabitants of the settlements of al-Ḳaşîm, especially the lords of Brejda and 'Anejza, bore very unwillingly the yoke of Eben Rašîd and therefore joined Prince 'Abdarrahmân of ar-Rijâd and other chiefs and in the spring of 1891 prepared to attack Muḥammad in his own land. But Muḥammad fell upon them at 'Anejza before they had completed their preparations and inflicted a decisive defeat upon them. The lord of 'Anejza, Zâmel âl Slêm, fell; the lord of Brejda, Ḥasan âl Muhanna, and Prince 'Abdarrahmân of ar-Rijâd were made prisoners.

Muḥammad was now sole ruler in al-Ḳaşîm and in the dominion of Eben Sa'ūd. But his power was insufficient to control fully the numerous strong settlements of Eben Sa'ūd, which lay hundreds of kilometers from

his capital, Ḥâjel. He was obliged to watch small city states forming on every side and to be thankful if they recognized him as overlord even in name. He had to exact his tribute by force. In order to check this disintegration of his influence he released the captured Prince 'Abdarrahmân, gave him his own troops, and established him again as prince in ar-Rijâd. But 'Abdarrahmân, unwilling to subject his fellow tribesmen to a foreign lord, fled from ar-Rijâd and settled with Eben Şabbâh, the lord of al-Kwejt.

After 'Abdarrahmân's flight at the end of 1891 Muḥammad eben Rašîd established as prince in ar-Rijâd Muḥammad the brother of Prince 'Abdallâh, who since the spring of 1891 had been interned in Ḥâjel. When the inhabitants of some distant districts in the former realm of Eben Sa'ûd would revolt and besiege Eben Rašîd's representative in his castle, he had the towns destroyed, the palm gardens of the insubordinate laid waste, and a garrison placed in every settlement.

At this time the power of Eben Rašîd had reached its height. His dominions embraced more than two-thirds of Arabia but nowhere touched the coast and included no harbor town. Muḥammad was in great need of arms and still more of munitions but was entirely dependent for these on the favor of various rulers of the coast towns and of the Turkish officials in al-Ḥasa, Irak, and Syria. He procured most of his munitions from the port of al-Kwejt, which belonged to Eben Şabbâh, and from the Turkish port of al-'Azêr in the district of al-Ḥasa. But since 'Abdarrahmân sent an ambassador to Constantinople and he himself settled in al-Kwejt, Muḥammad was faced with great difficulties in both of these ports; therefore he resolved to occupy a harbor for himself. He was unwilling to attack the Turks in al-Ḥasa, since he would thereby render all trade relations with Irak impossible. Thus only al-Kwejt remained, a port which, both by its position and by the insubordinate behavior of its ruler towards the Turkish Government, better suited his political and economic aims.

In 1895 began the first struggle of Muḥammad eben Rašîd against the lord of al-Kwejt, Eben Şabbâh. These struggles were fatal to the house of Eben Rašîd, since they cost Muḥammad nine-tenths of his influence.

Muḥammad did not live to see the fall of his house. He died, after a reign of almost twenty-eight years, on December 3, 1897, poisoned, as was said, by Mâged, the eldest son of Ḥmûd eben 'Obejd. Foreign gold was sowing division among the members of the ruling house.

'ABDAL'AZÎZ EBEN RAŠÎD, 1897-1906

Muḥammad left no son. He was succeeded, not by Mâged, but by 'Abdal'azîz, son of the murdered Prince Met'eb. During his eight years' reign the new prince never set foot in Ḥâjel, as he did not trust the family of 'Obejd. He was an able warrior but no diplomat. What his predecessor Muḥammad had obtained by gifts, he tried to achieve by "command and arms." No single prince of the house of Eben Rašîd personally made such efforts as 'Abdal'azîz, and yet he was unable to prevent the ruin of his power.

Immediately on his succession he released all the members of the house of Eben Sa'ûd who were interned in Ḥâjel. He was their personal

friend and believed he would find in them loyal supporters in the great realm of Eben Sa'ûd, which was subject to him. He needed such supporters all the more, since his adversaries in the district of ar-Rijâd were working against him and for the former Prince 'Abdarrahmân eben Sa'ûd, now living in al-Kwejt. But after only two years these members of the house of Eben Sa'ûd, who were called 'Arâjef and who had been so liberally treated by him, repaid his generosity by disloyalty. Some joined his enemies and others betook themselves to the Grand Sherif of Mecca, whom they urged to make war on their benefactor, 'Abdal'azîz. The latter found himself in a very difficult position, since he had not only to ward off the attacks of external enemies but to suppress almost continual internal revolts. The difficulty of procuring the necessary munitions and arms was removed by the advances of the Turkish Government.

After 1900 the Turkish Government began to devote more attention to conditions in inner Arabia. It was moved to that course first of all by its efforts to protect the telegraph line in course of construction along the Pilgrim Road from Damascus to al-Medîna. Since the Pilgrim Road was often crossed by various troops of warriors who were subject to Prince Eben Rašîd and made a practice of destroying the telegraph line, the Turkish Government concluded an agreement with 'Abdal'azîz, by which the latter undertook to see that his tribes did not disturb the line; in return for this the Government was to pay him a certain yearly sum. The Turkish Government needed 'Abdal'azîz also as a battering ram against the chief of al-Kwejt, Mubârek eben Şabbâh. In 1897 the latter had been appointed Turkish *kâjmağâm*, but he gave little heed to his superior, the governor of al-Başra, and inclined more and more to the British, who offered him much better material rewards. The Turkish Government would gladly have removed this unreliable official and have helped to power a member of the Eben Şabbâh family better disposed towards them, but neither the governors of al-Başra and Bagdad nor the military commandant ventured to take strong measures, since they knew that Great Britain would at once demand their removal and punishment. Instead, the Turks supported 'Abdal'azîz with arms and money, allotted him a monthly contribution of £T230 (\$1035) and invested him with a high order. In April, 1900, to express his gratitude, 'Abdal'azîz sent to al-Medîna ninety fat she-camels and ninety fat wethers, and for nine days he had ten she-camels and ten wethers slaughtered each day as an entertainment for both the Turkish officials and the natives.

The war with the lord of al-Kwejt continued. In the spring of 1900 Mubârek eben Şabbâh attacked some clans of 'Abdal'azîz eben Rašîd's Şammar and robbed them of several thousand camels. In the autumn 'Abdal'azîz sent a great trade caravan to Irak, which was to bring food, clothing, and munitions for the whole winter from as-Samâwa. Mubârek tried to catch them, but they were protected by Turkish troops until 'Abdal'azîz came up with reinforcements and brought the caravan to Hâjel without loss.

In January, 1901, 'Abdal'azîz received a fresh supply of arms, which he soon made use of against Mubârek eben Şabbâh, who was advancing to the offensive. With the latter were united many settlements of the dominions of Eben Sa'ûd, as well as several southern tribes, who all wished to shake off the yoke of Eben Rašîd. A detachment of the rebels was

defeated at the end of February at al-Bkerijje; whereupon the revolting settlers again swore obedience and abandoned the main force of Mubârek. As a result this force was completely annihilated at aṣ-Şerif on March 17, 1901.

In the late autumn of the same year 'Abdal'azîz advanced with a large army against Mubârek but had arrived only at al-Ḥafar on the caravan route from an-Nbâġ to al-Kwejt when he had to return, since news had reached him of a general rising in the southern part of his realm.

Muḥammad eben Sa'ûd was still lord in ar-Rijâd but under the overlordship of 'Abdal'azîz. His influence did not extend far, and the majority of the settlers of his provinces refused to pay any tribute (*zeka'*) to Prince Eben Rašîd. A similar temper prevailed in all the provinces of the former realm of Eben Sa'ûd. The efforts towards independence were nourished by the liberated members of the house of Eben Sa'ûd, who hoped to obtain power again. In the autumn of 1901 a simultaneous general rising followed.

Danger threatened 'Abdal'azîz not only in the conquered provinces but also in the land of his own tribes, for the settlers of his capital, Ḥâjel, were inclined to follow the example of the rebels and desired to place a new prince at their head. 'Abdal'azîz lost much time in the vicinity of his capital, and, when at length at the beginning of 1902 he was able to advance against ar-Rijâd, he learned that his governor, 'Aġlân, had been killed and that ar-Rijâd with the southern provinces was lost.

The new prince of ar-Rijâd was the old 'Abdarrahmân eben Fejşal, who had returned from al-Kwejt. His son 'Abdal'azîz desired in 'Abdarrahmân's name to conquer the whole of the realm which had once belonged to his ancestors. Supplied with arms, munitions, and gold, he continued to force back the power of Eben Rašîd in the north. Eben Rašîd might have withstood him if he could have relied on the other members of the ruling house and the settlers and if the Turkish Government had given him more liberal support. But he did not understand how to make himself generally popular, and the Turkish Government did not wish to become involved in any greater undertaking.

Only at the end of May, 1904, did one battalion and, shortly afterwards, eight more battalions of Turkish troops advance from as-Samâwa in Irak to the help of the prince, who was already extremely hard-pressed. First of all the Turkish soldiers rested for a considerable time by the wells of Wâkşa on the Pilgrim Road; then they advanced farther to al-Ḳašîm, but returned after seventeen months, decimated by sickness and without having taken any prominent part in the fighting.

On April 12, 1906, 'Abdal'azîz eben Rašîd, defeated by Eben Sa'ûd at the settlement of aṭ-Ṭarfijje north of Brejda almost exactly on the border of his own land, lost his life in the battle. Through this victory the dominions of Eben Sa'ûd were extended northwards to the Salma' mountains.

SULTÂN AND SA'ÛD EBEN RAŠÎD, 1906-1908

After the death of 'Abdal'azîz his equally warlike son, Met'eb, was recognized as prince but only by his father's supporters and not by the

adherents of the family of Ḥmūd āl 'Obejd nor by the settlers of Ḥājel. As long as the enemies of the ruling house of Eben Raśīd were still in the neighborhood of Ḥājel the prince's rivals remained quiet; but, when the enemy withdrew in the early summer, friction began and, after a reign of nine months, Prince Met'eb, with his brother Miš'al, was murdered by Sultān, the son of Ḥmūd āl 'Obejd. Five months later Muḥammad, the third son of Prince 'Abdal'azīz, was also murdered; the fourth son, Sa'ūd, a boy of eight years, was rescued by Sa'īd, the faithful slave and finance minister of his father, at the risk of his own life. They fled to al-Medīna.

Under Prince Sultān the whole district of al-Ḳaṣīm was finally lost and his governor of Ḥajbar driven out. In Ḥājel and other settlements the different clans fought with one another, and the land, which under Muḥammad had been so flourishing, was economically and politically ruined. The pilgrim caravans no longer passed through Ḥājel but through ar-Rijād, whereby the lord of Ḥājel suffered great pecuniary loss beside making what virtually amounted to an open confession of the weakness of the house of Eben Raśīd. The ill will of the settlers grew steadily greater; Sultān was unable to prevent the plundering of several settlements by the troops of Eben Sa'ūd at the end of 1907 and as a result was murdered by his own brothers, Sa'ūd and Fejśal, toward the close of January, 1908.

Sa'ūd became ruler and Fejśal governor in the important basin al-Ġowf. But the bodyguard of the murdered Prince Sultān joined some clans of the settlers, and fresh, bitter fighting broke out, inflicting great suffering on many settlements.

The supporters of the family of 'Abdal'azīz took advantage of the divisions among the family of Ḥmūd and fetched 'Abdal'azīz's only remaining son back from al-Medīna. At the head of the party of the young Sa'ūd eben 'Abdal'azīz were his mother's two cautious first cousins, Ḥmūd and Zāmel of the Subhān family. They found support among some groups of the Šammar and surrounded the town of Ḥājel. A revolt broke out there against Prince Sa'ūd, who was murdered, and the ten-year-old Sa'ūd, son of the fallen Prince 'Abdal'azīz, was accepted as ruler at the beginning of September, 1908. Most of the members of the Ḥmūd family of the ruling house of Eben Raśīd were pitilessly murdered. Only a few, with Fejśal, the governor of al-Ġowf, escaped by flight to Prince 'Abdal'azīz eben Sa'ūd in ar-Rijād.

REGENCIES OF ḤMŪD, 1908-1909, AND OF ZAMEL, 1909-1914

Prince Sa'ūd eben Raśīd, a minor, was completely under the influence of his maternal uncles, Ḥmūd and Zāmel. When Ḥmūd was poisoned in the spring of 1909, Zāmel's power in Ḥājel was unchecked. His position was a particularly difficult one: blood revenge was rife in the settlements; many clans of the settlers and many groups of the Šammar fled southwards to Eben Sa'ūd and northwards to Eben Ša'lān; the troops of Eben Sa'ūd several times plundered the immediate environs of Ḥājel, while Eben Ša'lān, after January, 1909, threatened the settlements in the basin al-Ġowf. Al-Ḳāra and aṭ-Twēr joined him entirely, while almost two-thirds of the inhabitants of Skāka and Dūmat al-Ġandalijje went over to him

of their own accord; the parts which remained faithful to Eben Rašid were besieged. The fortress of Mâred held out longest and only surrendered when the besiegers fired their Mannlicher carbines at close range against the gate, which was protected with iron plates. Nawwâf, the eldest son of Prince an-Nûri eben Ša'lân, now settled in al-Ġowf and ruled this important depression in the name of his father. Several tribes, which had hitherto followed Eben Rašid, joined him, and even some groups of the Šammar, so that from this time on the power of the lord of Hâjel was restricted on the north as well as on the south. In 1909 Eben Rašid lost the oasis of Tejma, whose inhabitants asked the governor of Damascus for a Turkish garrison.

When at the end of 1909 Zâmel âl Subhân saw that he was too weak to withstand so many enemies, he made peace with Eben Sa'ûd and recognized his overlordship; thus Eben Rašid again became the governor under Eben Sa'ûd. By giving up his independence Zâmel was able to establish order in Hâjel and the other settlements which were left to him. When this task was half completed, in the spring of 1910, he undertook a campaign against two tribes on the Heġâz Railway, the Weld 'Ali and Weld Slejmân, who had yielded to the Turks. At the beginning of June Zâmel appeared with his troops before Tejma, which had been occupied by Turkish gendarmes since January of the same year; driving them out, he had the most prominent supporters of the Turkish Government beheaded, and again established his governor in Tejma. Then he attacked the Turkish station of Medâjen Šâleĥ, pillaged everything on which he could lay hands, and returned as a conqueror. On the other side he had to defend himself continually against the Rwala and other tribes who followed Eben Ša'lân.

When in the spring of 1913 Eben Sa'ûd incorporated in his dominions the Turkish administrative district of Neġd, as the Turks called the coastal zone of al-Hasa on the Persian Gulf, and sent home the Turkish officials and soldiers, the Government again sought to come to a friendly agreement with the lord of Hâjel, or, in reality, with his minister Zâmel. The intermediary was Zâmel's cunning representative in Damascus, Ršêd Pasha. The Turks trusted Ršêd's assurances and at the end of 1913 sent to Prince Eben Rašid by the Heġâz Railway to the station of al-Mu'azzam six thousand Mauser rifles, some sixty thousand cartridges, an automobile, and a large sum of money. From al-Mu'azzam these gifts were brought to Hâjel by way of Tejma at the beginning of 1914. But the minister Zâmel was not long to enjoy this increase of his power. In the spring of 1914 he was murdered by his kinsman, Sa'ûd eben Šâleĥ âl Subhân, and the murderer, a young man with a cast in his left eye, became the all-powerful minister of the weak prince of Hâjel.

REGENCY OF SA'ÛD EBEN SUBHÂN, 1914-1916

While Sa'ûd eben Rašid's representative in Damascus was negotiating with the French consul there about taking over the protectorate of Hâjel, his minister Sa'ûd is said to have concluded an agreement with the British political officer, Captain W. H. I. Shakespear, who visited him in Hâjel in the late spring of 1914. Sa'ûd divided the arms sent by the Turkish

Government among his supporters and, as these were not very numerous, even among the Šlejb, men without honor in Arabia.

That summer, immediately after the outbreak of the World War, the minister Sa'ūd declared a holy war (*ġihād*) against his overlord, the Turkish *wāli* and commandant, Prince 'Abdal'azîz eben Sa'ūd of ar-Rijâd, with whom the house of Eben Rašîd had been at peace since 1909. Meanwhile robber bands supplied with Turkish arms by the minister harassed various tribes who were encamped on the borders of Irak and Syria and had yielded to the Turks.

When the Ottoman Empire joined the Central Powers at the end of October, 1914, several missions were sent out from Constantinople to Hâjel in order to induce Prince Eben Rašîd to make peace with the neighboring tribes and to support the Turkish undertakings in southern Irak and southern Syria; but the minister Sa'ūd dismissed all these missions with fair promises and prevented a complete junction between Turkey and the tribes. With foreign gold and foreign arms he increased the number of his supporters and would hear nothing of peace, since he feared for his own life. In fact, Prince Eben Sa'ūd, outraged by the breach of peace and murder of Zâmel, declared that he would not treat with the murderer and peace-breaker and would establish Fejşal eben Ĥmūd, who was living in ar-Rijâd, as ruler in Hâjel. The assumption of the government by Fejşal would have been equivalent to the destruction of the minister Sa'ūd eben Subhân.

The English political officer, Captain Shakespear, who had again returned to inner Arabia from al-Kwejt at the end of 1914, was endeavoring to win the prince of ar-Rijâd completely for Great Britain. He attached himself to Fejşal, who gave him to understand that he would enter Hâjel as Great Britain's friend.

From the beginning of December, 1914, the minister Sa'ūd had been besieging various settlements on the border districts of Hâjel which had surrendered to Fejşal and his overlord Eben Sa'ūd. Most of these were destroyed, the palm groves laid waste, and the wells choked up. On January 23, 1915, Sa'ūd left his camp at Ummu Ġrejf in order to attack the camp of Eben Sa'ūd at al-Aġrâb. The first attack was repulsed, and a detachment of Eben Rašîd's troops from the Lubde quarter of Hâjel were pursued by a part of Eben Sa'ūd's warriors led by Fejşal. But the remaining detachments under Eben Rašîd attacked again and forced the part of Eben Sa'ūd's army which had stayed behind to yield. A field gun was captured, by which Captain Shakespear was standing. Deserted by Eben Sa'ūd's warriors, the Englishman was shot down by a slave, Ibrâhîm an-Nowdeli, and killed with a saber. Nevertheless the minister Sa'ūd could not obtain a complete victory and was obliged to withdraw in the night from the vicinity of the enemy. His orderly retreat became a wild flight when express messengers brought the news that his own camp at Ummu Ġrejf was being plundered. The camp, indeed, had been attacked by a strong detachment of the Mtejr from the east, and from the west by the troops who had pursued the defeated detachment from the Lubde quarter, and was so thoroughly looted that the warriors who returned with the prince and his minister found no food or clothing left.

At the same time the writer of these lines headed a deputation from an-Nûri eben Šalân and his son Nawwâf, lord of al-Ġowf, which

approached Eben Rašîd and threatened him with a concentric attack from the north if he did not at once conclude peace with all the 'Aneze. Nothing was left for the minister but to accept an-Nûri's and Nawwâf's proposal. These were the negotiations narrated on pages 47-56, above.

Prince Eben Sa'ûd of ar-Rijâd also sued the minister for peace and proposed with their united strength to attack the tribes on the Persian Gulf, but the minister refused this request, since he dreaded the return of the exiled members of the ruling house. So, with the arms given to him by the Turkish Government, he supported the head chief of the Zefîr, Ĥmûd eben Swêt, the arch enemy of the head chief of the Muntifež, although the latter was obstinately fighting the British with the Turkish troops.

The minister of Eben Rašîd sent the Turkish Government no energetic aid either in 1915 or 1916 and, indeed, by his plundering raids prevented the other tribes from advancing with greater determination against the British in Irak and Syria and against the Grand Sherif of Mecca. He well understood how to accept presents and marks of distinction from all sides and to strengthen his personal influence thereby.

In 1915 twenty-nine kinsmen of the banished members of the ruling family were murdered by him, so that of the direct descendants of the founder of this dynasty only two youths besides the prince were left alive in Ĥâjel, and these trembled for their lives every hour. Even "the last of the first" from the days of their prosperity, the heroic standard-bearer, the slave 'Abdallâh, was not sure of his life.

At the end of 1916 Sa'ûd felt himself so strong that he desired to destroy the ruling house of Eben Rašîd and set himself up as prince. He was supported by some members of the Ġa'âfra clan of the 'Abde, who had been won over by gold, by some clans of the Aslam, and by his numerous slaves, upon whom he could thoroughly rely. But neither the settlers nor the remaining tribes of the Šammar were inclined to fight for the descendant of a slave, and they drove him and his followers to flight. At the end of 1916 he fled to the Bdûr, encamped with them between al-Ĥamisijje and az-Zobejr on the right bank of the Euphrates, and was killed in 1919.

REGENCY OF 'EĤÂB EBEN 'EĖEL, 1916-1920

After the flight of this traitor there followed schism within the realm of Eben Rašîd. Neither the settlers nor the clans of the Šammar found in the prince any protection against internal or external quarrels, and yet they all longed for rest and peace, since they were more than ever dependent on the products of their own lands, as a result of the state of war in Irak and the Ĥeġâz. The southern clans on the one side beheld the increasing prosperity of the realm of Eben Sa'ûd, the northern clans on the other observed that the lord of al-Ġowf protected both his settlements and his tribes from all plundering. Thus the northern clans placed themselves under the protection of the Emir Nawwâf of al-Ġowf, and the southern clans recognized Prince Eben Sa'ûd as their lord. To Prince Sa'ûd eben Rašîd was left only Ĥâjel, some other settlements, and the farmers dwelling in the ravines of Eġa', and even on these he could not rely, since he was not in a position to offer them either protection

or food, clothing or munitions. Under these circumstances Prince Sa'ûd left Hâjel in midsummer, 1917, and betook himself with his followers to Medâjen Şâleḥ on the Ḥeġâz Railway, where he was provided with all necessities by the Ottoman troops.

The duties of minister were fulfilled by his faithful slave, the eunuch Sa'id, who had served his father before him, had educated Sa'ûd himself, and had saved his life. But the real power was in the hands of the chief 'Ekâb eben 'Eġel, the prince's father-in-law, who ruled according to his pleasure and received presents not only from the Turks but also from the rebellious Grand Sherif of Mecca, just as did Ršêd Pasha, the official representative of Eben Rašîd in Damascus and Constantinople.

At the end of the World War Eben Rašîd was in a particularly dangerous position. On the south his arch enemy, Eben Sa'ûd, was approaching, on the north he was threatened by various tribes of the 'Aneze, while the Turks, his former protectors, had been driven out of Irak as well as out of the northern Ḥeġâz. He would gladly have made approaches to the British in Irak, but they could not support him without annoying their ally, Eben Sa'ûd. Only one road remained open, and that led to the Ḥeġâz, to King Ḥusejn, his own friend and the friend of his family. 'Ekâb eben 'Eġel, Prince Sa'ûd's father-in-law, promised Ḥusejn that he would recognize his overlordship in return for support against Eben Sa'ûd and free access to Syria. King Ḥusejn conceded both requests, sent him supplies and munitions, and encouraged him to harass the followers of Eben Sa'ûd. At the same time Ḥusejn entreated his son, Fejşal, to hinder the conveyance of supplies to the Emir Nawwâf and thereby to diminish the latter's influence in the oasis of al-Ġowf and the neighborhood. By this means numerous clans of the Šammar were driven to join their prince again. With their help 'Ekâb now harassed the settlements of the oasis of al-Ġowf to the north and the border townships of Eben Sa'ûd to the south. As the Emir Nawwâf was suffering from lack of supplies and munitions he entered into negotiations and recognized the overlordship of Eben Rašîd in all the settlements of the oasis of al-Ġowf. Thus 'Ekâb eben 'Eġel was able to proclaim at the beginning of 1920 that al-Ġowf again belonged to him and that his representative, Eben Šwê'er, ruled the oasis. But he was not to enjoy his success for long. Both the settlers and the nomads desired a strong prince who would be able to open the gates of Irak and to come to terms with Eben Sa'ûd and the members of the ruling house under his protection. Therefore they attached themselves to 'Abdallâh eben Ṭalâl eben Rašîd, surprised Prince Sa'ûd in March, 1920, killed him, and declared 'Abdallâh lord of Hâjel. But Sa'ûd's slaves wished to avenge their lord, and their leader slew the young 'Abdallâh even before he could form his bodyguard. In the confusion which ensued 'Ekâb eben 'Eġel and his followers came to an understanding with 'Abdallâh, the young son of the murdered Prince Met'eb, won the settlers for his support and even Muḥammad, brother of the fallen 'Abdallâh, so that 'Abdallâh was generally accepted as prince. A short while later Prince 'Abdallâh threw Muḥammad eben Ṭalâl into prison to prevent him from conspiring with the friends of his massacred brother.

The position of the family of Eben Rašîd was rendered so precarious by these internal disputes that they experienced great difficulty in protecting themselves against the attacks of the tribes subject to Eben Sa'ûd. It

was fortunate for them that, at the time, Eben Sa'ūd was fully occupied in the southwest where the emissaries of King Ḥusejn were intriguing against him.

FALL OF THE HOUSE OF EBEN RAŠĪD, 1921

Only in the summer of 1921 was Eben Sa'ūd, who had appeared before Ḥājel as early as the end of September, 1918, able to advance against Eben Rašīd with greater strength. He made an agreement with his fellow tribesmen, the northern 'Aneze. An-Nūri eben Sa'lān with the Rwala, Weld 'Ali, Weld Slejmān, Šarārāt, and the Ḥwētāt under 'Awde abu Tājah threatened the Šammar and their oases from the north, while Eben Sa'ūd's warriors plundered the encampments of the 'Abde branch of the Šammar. Eben Sa'ūd's main body approached Ḥājel under the leadership of his brother Muḥammad. They reached Jāṭob but were driven back to al-Aġfar and defeated.

Since 'Abdallāh eben Rašīd was aware that in the long run he would be unable to withstand this concentric attack, in the early summer of 1921 he begged for peace. Eben Sa'ūd was willing to conclude peace with the Šammar tribes but not with the ruling family, and demanded that all the members of the house of Eben Rašīd betake themselves to ar-Rijād and renounce all intervention in the affairs of the Šammar. 'Abdallāh could not consent to this, and the war continued. The reinforced enemy approached Ḥājel from the south, east, and north, while numerous clans of the Šammar left their districts and, at the invitation of the friends of King Fejṣal of Irak, encamped on the right bank of the Euphrates. The new government in Irak supplied them with food and munitions and encouraged them indirectly to attack the camping places of the tribes of Eben Sa'ūd, whom they did not trust and whom they desired to weaken in every way. Eben Sa'ūd could not and would not allow this and resolved to make a decisive attack on Ḥājel, Eben Rašīd's capital. He entrusted this undertaking to Fejṣal eben Dawīš, a commander of the highest repute. At the beginning of September Fejṣal surrounded the camp of 'Abdallāh eben Rašīd at al-Ġetāmijje, with the result that 'Abdallāh was obliged to surrender. The Šammar, who proclaimed Muḥammad eben Talāl prince in his place, now faced Fejṣal at an-Nēsijje but were driven back to Ḥājel. Shortly afterwards Prince 'Abdal'azīz eben Sa'ūd himself came to an-Nēsijje and conducted the siege of the town of Ḥājel. At the beginning of December the town had to surrender, and Prince Eben Sa'ūd made a victorious entry into the capital of Eben Rašīd, who had driven his father from his capital ar-Rijād.

All who belonged to the house of Eben Rašīd were sent to ar-Rijād, and the former dominion of Eben Rašīd was converted into a district of the province of al-Ḳašīm; Ibrāhīm al Subhān was made governor at Ḥājel. Almost at the same time the oases of Tejma and al-Ġowf surrendered. The Weld Slejmān, Weld 'Ali, and ar-Rwala tribes recognized the overlordship of their fellow tribesman, Eben Sa'ūd, from whom they hoped for support against the unpopular house of King Ḥusejn. Sultān,¹ the energetic son of the Emir Nawwāf (who died in the autumn of 1921), was established as governor in al-Ġowf, and the Singāra and 'Abde tribes,

¹ Died in April, 1924.

branches of the Šammar, were compelled to render him service. Eben Rašîd vanished, and Eben Sa'ûd ruled the whole of northern Arabia as *malek* (king), as he is called in Arabia. This extension of his power was very unpleasant both to King Husejn and to his son King Fejşal. Both supported all his opponents and encouraged them again to fresh outbreaks. In the early summer of 1922 their confidential agent attempted to procure the escape of the interned Prince Muḥammad eben Rašîd. Chief Nâjef abu Kilâb of the 'Aġmân was entrusted with the task. Under his direction Muḥammad disguised himself as a woman and reached the gardens of ar-Rijâd. But his flight was discovered and he was pursued. Muḥammad defended himself and lost his left hand; shortly afterwards he died in prison. All his followers were cut down.

GEBEL ŠAMMAR UNDER THE HOUSE OF EBEN RAŠÎD

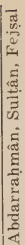
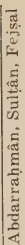
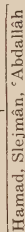
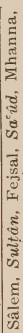
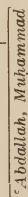
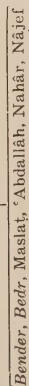
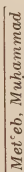
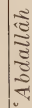
The capital, Hâjel, in the time of its greatest prosperity under Prince Muḥammad consisted of about four thousand houses inhabited mostly by one family each. These houses were grouped in four quarters around the market place, Sûḵ al-Meşâhde: on the northeast lay the Berzân quarter; on the south, that of Lubde; on the west, that of al-Murîza; and on the northwest, that of 'Afnân. The inhabitants of Berzân, Lubde, and al-Murîza bore their own standards in war. The merchants, about eighty families, hailed from an-Neġef in Irak and dwelt in Berzân and Lubde. In the town itself there are two mosques in Berzân and Lubde and one each in the suburbs of Semâḥ and Sûḵ an-Naḥâḥîs. At the mosque (*mesġed*) in Berzân was the religious school of al-Merşedi and in Lubde that of Eben Mer'i. The teachers in these institutions decided questions of religious law. Muḥammad eben Bâni, of a family of alleged Jewish origin, was famed for his skill in making engraved and richly decorated arms.

The bodyguard of the prince was formed by about four hundred slaves, who dwelt in groups of twenty each and were supported by the prince. Besides these he had at his disposal about as many young volunteers, called, together with the slaves, *raġâġîl aš-šjûḥ* (men of the head chief), all of whom he had to arm and pay. Public morality in Hâjel was at a very low level. The numerous illegitimate children were mostly deposited in the mosques, brought up at the expense of the prince, and divided among the slaves. In the disturbances which prevailed after the year 1897 large parts of Hâjel were destroyed, the palm trees cut down, and the wells choked up, so that the minister Zâmel, from fear of a night attack, had a new wall, for the most part of unbaked brick, built around the inhabited quarters.

Besides Hâjel fourteen other settlements belonged to Eben Rašîd, most of which were considerably damaged. Al-Ķfâr, which once rivaled Hâjel, was completely abandoned.

When Prince Sa'ûd eben Rašîd proclaimed a holy war (*ġihâd*) all the settlers capable of bearing arms had to follow him. Their number could then hardly have amounted to a thousand. Of the nomads only those in his pay followed him. The nomads paid Eben Rašîd the *zeka'*, a tax of one *meġîdijje* (90 cents) for every five camels. The chiefs were exempt from the *zeka'* but had to visit the prince once a month and

‘Ali eben Rašid



give him their support. In every clan of a tribe forty to eighty men also paid no *zeka*, but these had to give the prince military service, for which they were supplied by him with arms, riding animals, and food. In war time about two thousand nomads followed Prince Sa'ûd. He thus had at his disposal at most three thousand warriors, who, however, were all equipped with modern Mauser rifles presented by the Turkish Government.

The relations of the house of Eben Rašîd and the Turkish Government were peculiar. In despatches addressed to the Government the princes asserted their obedience and loyalty, but in their country they conducted themselves with complete independence and spoke of the *dôle* (government) in Constantinople and of their own *dôle* as of two entities of equal value. They also boasted of maintaining an ambassador (*sefir*) at Constantinople and representatives at Damascus, al-Medîna, and Bagdad. Since the Turkish authorities made a pretense of recognizing these officials, Sa'ûd eben Rašîd claimed through his minister the right of dealing directly with foreign powers.

APPENDIX IX

HISTORY OF THE HOUSE OF EBEN SA'ÛD

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY, SETTLEMENTS, AND RELIGION OF NEĠD

In various geographical works on Arabia there are descriptions of a huge mountain range called at-Ṭwejk, which traverses from northeast to southwest that part of inner Arabia called Neġd. In reality at-Ṭwejk is not a mountain range but merely the western escarpment of a plateau and has been formed by denudation. This escarpment begins at latitude 29° N. and in its northern part marks the eastern boundary of the sandy Nefūd desert. Here, however, it trends from northwest to southeast. South of latitude 27° N. another similar escarpment runs parallel to at-Ṭwejk about sixty kilometers to the west, also trending from northwest to southeast.

Along the bases of these two escarpments the prevailing northwest winds have deposited in long narrow dunes sand derived from disintegrated sandstone. Outliers of the plateaus, which have resisted the processes of denudation, stand out to the westward of the escarpments as flat-topped hills, between which, as also between the dunes, there are more or less spacious basins, in which the run-off collects from wide areas and resists evaporation for years under a protecting cover of gravel or sand.

After abundant winter rain a fresh or even a luxuriant growth of plants appears on the dunes, plateaus, and in the basins; but as early as the end of June the annuals have all withered, although perennials still thrive. If no abundant winter rain falls for three or four years, then of the annuals only the seeds remain alive, and of the perennials only the roots; the whole landscape gives an impression of a dead and death-dealing desert.

In the basins alone, thanks to the ground water, life is preserved. If the covering which protects the water is only about one meter thick, the date palms thrive without care from man; but, if it is thicker, in the time of the summer drought from April to October they require regular watering.

But the run-off also brings with it fine sand, which has been released from sandstones by the processes of weathering and denudation, and deposits it in the basins, where it undergoes a chemical change through the dampness and in this way forms a soil in which vines and pomegranates thrive quite well, besides wheat, barley, and some vegetables. The cultivation of grain demands continual irrigation, and if the heat at the end of April and beginning of May is too great the grains wither and the crop bears no relation to the trouble expended. Grain, therefore, is an article of luxury. The chief food consists of dates, and these are so abundant that they can support a quite numerous population throughout the year.

All the settlements are enclosed by high walls that are often double. In each, inside the inner wall, the houses with some small palm gardens

nestle close together, while fields and larger palm groves fill the space between the first and outer wall. The inner wall, which is very high, has two faces from three to eight meters apart, built of unbaked bricks, the space between being filled in with stamped-down clay and gravel.

Every settlement forms a state in itself. The larger the settlement, the more enterprising its inhabitants, and the more ambitious its lord, the greater is its influence. The smaller neighboring settlements attach themselves voluntarily to the lord of the large settlement and assist him to subdue other larger oases.

In the barren districts which extend between the different oases various tribes of camel, sheep, and goat breeders wander and try to levy fixed taxes on the different settlements. Consequently it is clear that in these lands complete peace can never prevail. When the lord of a powerful settlement succeeds in forcing his rule not only on the settlers but also on the nomads, only then do the feuds cease, do the bands of robbers depart or become broken up, and under the protection—or “before the countenance”—of a strong lord may one wander in his district as safely as in a European city. Not love of peace, but fear of punishment induces a state of peace.

For the most part the peace is disturbed by the nomads. The fields, gardens, and granaries of the settlers who cling to the soil exercise a continual fascination which the nomads find it impossible to resist for long. Aware of this, the settlers pay regular levies to some clans of the nomads and thereby place themselves under their protection. In this way the settlers are more or less dependent on the nomads, and this relation of dependence finds its expression even in their religious orders.

All the inhabitants of Arabia, settlers as well as nomads, have believed and now believe in one single, personal, invisible, all-present Allâh. Among the nomads, especially the camel breeders, this monotheistic faith with its practices is reminiscent of the religion of the Old Testament patriarchs. The camel breeders know no holy places, no sacred objects, no intermediaries between man and Allâh, no forms of prayer. All nomads are Moslems but only in name; in reality they pay no heed to the precepts of Islam. It is otherwise with the settlers of the oases. Besides Allâh they worship various patron saints, have holy trees, rocks, springs, sacred groves, fixed places of worship, and, in consequence, also caretakers of these places and intermediaries between the inhabitants and their holy patrons. The Moslem faith prevails in the oases, not in its orthodox purity, but for the most part in its more peculiar variations.

The sharp political and religious contrast between the settlers and the nomads, and the fact that the former are more or less dependent on the latter, have awakened among many settlers the idea that the one Allâh of the nomads is after all stronger than the numerous saints of the settlers and that therefore the religion of the former must be the truer. These ideas in the course of centuries have given rise to various religious movements and have found their expression in the school of law of Ibn Ḥanbal, which has numerous adherents in eastern Arabia. From time to time these men attempt to reform the lives of their fellow citizens according to the teachings of Ibn Ḥanbal. For this purpose they generally make use of the power of a ruler and thereby strengthen his political influence. Such attempts have occurred and still occur almost

every century. Among the more recent, the best-known is that of the founder of the sect of the Wahhâbites and through them of the realm of Eben Sa'ûd.

MUHAMMAD EBEN 'ABDALWAHHÂB AND MUHAMMAD
EBEN SA'ÛD, 1740-1765

Muhammad, the founder of this sect, was born in 1703 in the town of al-'Ajjêne, son of the lawyer Slejmân of the Eben 'Abdalwahhâb family, who were of the school of Ibn Hanbal. The family name, Eben 'Abdalwahhâb, was erroneously interchanged with the name of Muhammad's father, who was called Slejmân, not 'Abdalwahhâb. The young Muhammad went on a pilgrimage to Mecca and al-Medîna and proceeded with the pilgrims to Syria and Irak, where he remained for some time in the various towns, especially al-Bašra.

He returned to inner Arabia by way of az-Zobejr and al-Hasa to Ĥrejmla, where his father Slejmân at that time held a position as magistrate. After his father's death in 1740 Muhammad began to preach openly against religious malpractices and in consequence was expelled from Ĥrejmla.

He took refuge at al-'Ajjêne among his family, the Eben 'Abdalwahhâb of the Beni Tamîm tribe, where he found not only protection but also adherents to his teaching. In a short time the holy graves were destroyed, the holy trees cut down, and various adversaries expelled. These opponents found protection with the lord of al-Hasa, Slejmân eben Muhammad of the ruling Eben 'Arej'er kindred, and before him Muhammad had to fly to the strongly fortified oasis of ad-Der'ijje. The lord of this oasis was Muhammad eben Sa'ûd eben Muhammad of the Eben Mežren family of the Mešâlîh division of the Weld 'Ali tribe of the 'Aneze tribal group. The energetic Sa'ûd eben Muhammad eben Mežren had fortified ad-Der'ijje, compelled all the smaller oases to recognize his overlordship, and so laid the foundations of the power of his family, which henceforth was named after him. When he died in 1724, he left four sons: Tnejjân, Muhammad, Farhân, and Mešâri, from whom are derived the four chief branches of the Eben Sa'ûd house.

His sons endeavored to extend the inheritance they had received from their father. The eldest son, Tnejjân, was a born commander, or as the Bedouins say, a "prince of the camel saddle," whilst his brother Muhammad directed the political affairs. Both recognized the importance of the aims of the lawyer Muhammad, who had taken refuge with them and who implored the lord of ad-Der'ijje to become the visible head (*imâm*) of the new religious community and to spread the teaching of the only God. For his trouble he was to receive from all the faithful a fifth part of their produce and the *zeka'* tax. Muhammad consented, but only after the death of his brother Tnejjân (who had meanwhile become blind) was he publicly recognized in 1747 as the spiritual and temporal head chief of the Mwaḥḥedîn or Wahhâbites. The settlements of al-'Ajjêne, Ĥrejmla, 'Ammârijje, and al-Manfûḥa soon declared for him, and with their help he was able to attack the oases of az-Zilfi and ar-Rijâd.

The lord of ar-Rijâd, Dhâm of the Eben Dawwâs family, offered a stubborn resistance and in 1758 allied himself with Duğejn eben 'Arej'er,

lord of al-Ḥasa. The latter, with his tribes, the Beni Ḥāled and the 'Amārāt of Eben Haddāl, besieged the settlements of Eben Sa'ūd, but in the spring of 1759 had to retreat without achieving anything. Three years later Dhām also had to accept in ar-Rijād the new teaching and with it the overlordship of Eben Sa'ūd. At the end of 1764 Eben Sa'ūd was in serious danger from the united warriors of the 'Aḡmān and the tribes of the lord of Neḡrān, Ḥasan eben Habtallāh, who utterly defeated 'Abdal-'azīz, son of Muḥammad eben Sa'ūd, at al-Ḥāḡer and approached the capital ad-Der'ijje. The lord of ar-Rijād, Dhām eben Dawwās, who had been defeated a short time before, thought the moment had now come to throw off the yoke of Eben Sa'ūd and to make himself ruler of Neḡd. He allied himself with the Zefir and the Beni Ḥāled and threatened ad-Der'ijje from the north. But the prudent Muḥammad swiftly concluded a somewhat humiliating peace with the lord of Neḡrān, who lived at a greater distance, threw himself with all his strength on the lord of the neighboring ar-Rijād, and inflicted a decisive defeat upon him.

'ABDAL-'AZİZ EBEN SA'ÛD, 1765-1803
BEGINNINGS OF THE WAHHĀBITE POWER

Prince Muḥammad eben Sa'ūd died at the beginning of March, 1765, and his son 'Abdal-'azīz was recognized as his successor. He endeavored to spread to the north the new religion and with it his own power. He won over Ḥmūd ad-Drejbi, the ruler of Brejda in al-Ḳaṣīm, and besieged the strong fort of 'Anejza but did not succeed in capturing it. Yet the settlements of Brejda, ar-Rass, and Tennūme remained in his possession, and in the other towns the teachers of the new sect continued to make proselytes, who called themselves Mwahḡhedin, worshippers of the "only" God, while by their opponents they were called after their founder Wahhābijjīn or Wahnābites. In 1772 the inhabitants of all the settlements of al-Ḳaṣīm, with the exception of the three mentioned above, conspired to murder the Wahnābites and carried out their purpose. In order to bring force against the three settlements the conspirators allied themselves with 'Arej'er eben 'Arej'er, head chief of the Beni Ḥāled, with the Zefir, and also with some groups of the 'Aneze and Šammar and captured Brejda; but they had to withdraw when 'Arej'er died in al-Ḥwābi in the spring of 1773.

In the same year, 1773, 'Abdal-'azīz eben Sa'ūd finally succeeded in defeating his nearest and most stubborn enemy, Dhām eben Dawwās, lord of ar-Rijād, and in occupying this great oasis. Now he again began to harass al-Ḥasa. An opportunity to intervene was offered by the disturbances which broke out in 1773 after the death of 'Arej'er eben Duḡejn eben 'Arej'er, lord of al-Ḥasa. 'Arej'er's elder son, Btejjēn, seized the power but was opposed by his brother, Sa'dūn, and murdered in 1777. Sa'dūn observed with envy the growth of Eben Sa'ūd's influence and used every opportunity of checking him. When in the year 1780 a fresh revolt broke out in al-Ḳaṣīm against Eben Sa'ūd, Sa'dūn hastened with his tribes to the aid of the insurgents and besieged Brejda but had to retire on the news that his own territory had been attacked. The followers of the murdered Btejjēn had found help with Twēni eben Sa'dūn, the head chief of the Muntifež, who was now plundering from the north the

districts belonging to Sa'dûn eben 'Arej'er and occupying one settlement after another.

In his need Sa'dûn eben 'Arej'er turned for help to Eben Sa'ûd. The latter, however, was not inclined to strengthen the power of the lord of al-Ḥasa, for he aimed at a free approach to the sea, and this was most easy to reach through al-Ḥasa. Eben 'Arej'er was unable to maintain himself in al-Ḥasa and in 1784 fled to Eben Sa'ûd in ad-Der'ijje, where he died. Eben Sa'ûd occupied the southern part of his territory, while the head chief of the Muntifež held the northern part in the name of the Turkish Government. As a result of petty friction, war broke out between Eben Sa'ûd and the Turkish Government. At the end of 1784 Turkish troops with artillery under the leadership of Twêni eben Sa'dûn advanced from al-Bašra to Eben Sa'ûd's territory. They followed the old caravan route up the valley of al-Bâten and halted before Tennûme in the neighborhood of the ancient an-Nibâğ, which had remained loyal to Eben Sa'ûd. Here they were joined by various divisions of the Šammar and settlers from numerous places in al-Kašîm. After a long resistance Tennûme voluntarily opened its doors but was pillaged and partially destroyed. The united troops attacked the large town of Brejda, which they might perhaps have conquered had not the adversaries of Twêni, instigated by the governor of Bagdad, who distrusted him, stirred up a revolt against him in the district of al-Bašra during his absence. Twêni had to raise the siege and hastily return to az-Zobejr. He suppressed the rising and captured al-Bašra but was defeated at Sûk aš-Šjûh and as-Safwân by the governor of Bagdad and fled by way of al-Ġehra near al-Kwejt into the steppe of aš-Šammâm, where he found a refuge with a branch of the Beni Ḥâled. The lord of ad-Der'ijje, Eben Sa'ûd, conquered many settlements of al-Ḥasa and occupied the strong fort of 'Anejza in al-Kašîm. His influence now extended from the Salma' mountains to al-'Ažêr on the Persian Gulf.

Under the leadership of his son, Sa'ûd, his warriors made plundering raids into the territories of various tribes who had refused to accept the new teaching and with it the overlordship of Eben Sa'ûd. Among the pillaged tribes there were some who paid tribute to the Grand Sherif of Mecca. They brought complaints against Eben Sa'ûd, and the Grand Sherif proclaimed that no pilgrim who traversed the district of Eben Sa'ûd would be received in Mecca. By this decree Eben Sa'ûd suffered considerable loss, for since 1769 all pilgrim caravans from the Persian Gulf and Irak had passed through his territory and had brought much profit to his subjects. As a reason for this proclamation the Grand Sherif alleged that the subjects of Eben Sa'ûd were no true Moslems and that the pilgrims must be protected from intercourse with these heretics (*kâfirîn*). Eben Sa'ûd now sent a redoubtable lawyer to Mecca, who took with him a detailed account of the new teaching from the pen of the founder, Muḥammad eben 'Abdalwahhâb, and who was to preach the new doctrines publicly in Mecca. But once there, he was forbidden to make any public appearance, the Wahhâbites were declared to be enemies of the true religion and of the Grand Sherif, and a holy war was preached against them.

The Grand Sherif's troops, led by his brother 'Abdalmu'in, advanced against Eben Sa'ûd at the end of 1790. They were joined by various

tribes, such as the Htejm, al-'Awâzem, Mtejr, and Šammar, who had been oppressed by Eben Sa'ûd, and they hoped soon to capture the capital, ad-Der'ijje, and thereby completely break the power of Eben Sa'ûd. But the first settlements of the Wahnâbites, which lay in the depression of as-Sirr, offered so stubborn a resistance that the Grand Sherif's army was obliged to send to Mecca for reinforcements and better arms. The Grand Sherif Râleb himself came at the head of the new force, but even he was unable to press beyond the depression of as-Sirr and had to return hurriedly when Eben Sa'ûd's son tried to close his retreat. Sa'ûd, the warlike son of the lord of ad-Der'ijje, now chastised all the tribes who had followed the Grand Sherif. Thus at the beginning of 1791 he attacked the Mtejr and Šammar at the settlement of al-'Edwa, scattered them, and drove the Šammar northwards into the Eġa' mountains and Nefûd desert. He pursued the Mtejr at the end of 1791, defeated them at al-Ĥanâkijje and Šakra' more than six hundred kilometers west of ad-Der'ijje, and only the almost impassable lava district of as-Swârķijje offered them a secure hiding place.

The founder of the Wahnâbite sect, Muḥammad eben Slejmân eben 'Abdalwahnâb, before his death in June, 1791, saw his teaching accepted throughout almost the entire peninsula, as a result of the activity of the warriors of the Imâm Eben Sa'ûd. Numerous pupils came to ad-Der'ijje even from the most distant places of Arabia in order to hear there the new teaching. As long as Muḥammad lived he enjoyed a certain respect above the prince, but after his death all the religious influence and the spiritual dignity devolved upon the prince himself, who was generally regarded as the spiritual and temporal chief of the Wahnâbites. Muḥammad's sons, Ḥsejn, 'Abdallâh, 'Ali, and Ibrâhîm, practiced as lawyers in ad-Der'ijje and other townships but without exercising any remarkable influence.

In 1792 Sa'ûd, the son of Prince 'Abdal'azîz, defeated the lord of al-Ḥasa and the Beni Ḥâled at the water of al-Lašâfa on the road from al-Kwejt to al-Ḳašîm and advanced against al-Hufhûf. At the little settlement of 'Ajn Neġm representatives of al-Hufhûf and other towns awaited him and surrendered all their settlements to him. He now introduced garrisons and had the castle al-Kût built in al-Hufhûf. After he had occupied the whole of al-Ḥasa in 1793 he sent troops from al-Ḳašîm and from the Šammar territory under the leadership of Muḥammad eben Ma'ejkel against the settlements in the basin al-Ġowf on the northern border of the Nefûd. The inhabitants offered stubborn resistance but finally had to surrender and to recognize the overlordship of Eben Sa'ûd. Sa'ûd, the son of Prince 'Abdal'azîz, attacked the settlements of the districts of al-Ḥarġ, al-Far', and the Wâdi ad-Dawâser, south of ad-Der'ijje; in his raids he reached 'Omân and al-'Asîr and brought back rich booty.

Various detachments of Eben Sa'ûd went so far as to plunder some villages in Irak, and the inhabitants complained to the governor of Bagdad. Different chiefs who had been expelled by Eben Sa'ûd also complained and aroused the suspicions of the governor when they declared that Eben Sa'ûd intended to occupy al-Baġra and even Bagdad. The governor, Slejmân Pasha, now again made use of the head chief of the Muntifeż, Twêni eben 'Abdallâh eben Sa'dûn, whom he had shortly before expelled. With Turkish

soldiers as well as volunteers from al-Basra and az-Zobejr, and together with the Beni Hâled, Zefîr, and Muntifez tribes Twêni advanced towards al-Ḥasa at the end of 1796, made a camp at al-Gehra, and had guns brought by boat to al-Kaṭîf. Eben Sa'ûd, however, was not disposed to give up al-Ḥasa and its numerous harbors without a fight. He ordered the Mtejr, Sbê, 'Aġmân, Kḥaṭân, and Shûl tribes to choose their winter encampments in the district of the Beni Hâled — that is, in al-Ḥasa — and in this way to secure for him the different watering places and the garnered supplies of food. A strong detachment of his troops under Muḥammad eben Ma'ejkel proceeded on the road from an-Nbâġ towards al-Ġehra, while the main body under his son Sa'ûd advanced northwards across the basin of Tenhât to ad-Dhana, reached Hafar al-'Ataḳ, and joined Eben Ma'ejkel at Ummu Rbej'a. Sa'ûd's aim was to cut off the retreat of Twêni, who was advancing to the south through the cultivated coast district. However, no fight took place, as Twêni was murdered at the beginning of 1797 by his slave, and the united troops, who placed no confidence in his brother and successor, Nâser, quickly dispersed, some of them joining Eben Sa'ûd. The latter pursued the fugitives as far as the neighborhood of al-Basra, then passed on up the right bank of the Euphrates, pillaging and destroying various settlements. In the neighborhood of as-Samâwa he turned back, brought his rich booty into safety, and encamped with a part of his troops in al-Wkûba, since he had learned that the plundered tribes were pursuing him. As nothing happened, he again attacked the encampments of the sheep and goat breeders (*šwâja*) near the Euphrates and pillaged them one after another as far as the Pilgrim Road from Irak. Here he turned back.

But Slejmân Pasha would not give up his object of threatening Eben Sa'ûd's seat from al-Ḥasa, and even of destroying it. He therefore equipped a new army and despatched it in 1798 under the Turkish commander, 'Ali, by the land route to al-Ḥasa. The inhabitants of the coast towns, as well as those of al-Mubarraz and al-Hufhûf, joined the Turkish troops, but Eben Sa'ûd's garrisons, who had come from the district of al-Ḥarġ, defended the strong castles both in al-Mubarraz and in al-Hufhûf, and 'Ali failed to capture them. When his troops began to suffer from lack of munitions and food and he himself received rich presents from Eben Sa'ûd's intermediaries, he left al-Ḥasa with nothing achieved.

The authority of Eben Sa'ûd now increased more and more. On the news of this victory, Râleb, the Grand Sherif of Mecca, offered peace to Eben Sa'ûd, admitted into Mecca the caravans which passed through his dominions, and was even ready to recognize the Wahnâbites as true believers. The Grand Sherif was compelled to act thus, since Eben Sa'ûd already controlled all the pilgrim routes (except that from Jidda) to Mecca, and therefore the prosperity of the town was dependant upon him. Sa'ûd, the son of the prince of ad-Der'ijje, accompanied the first great pilgrim caravan to Mecca and al-Medîna, and another in the year 1800.

The first great caravan of Persian pilgrims conducted under the protection of Eben Sa'ûd's warriors was, however, attacked and robbed on its return by subjects of the governor of Bagdad. Thereupon Sa'ûd with the Wahnâbites undertook plundering raids against various villages west of the lower Euphrates, seized Kerbela, the holy city of the Shiites, on April 20, 1801, pillaged the treasures which in the course of centuries

had been accumulated at the shrine of Husejn, reviewed his enormous booty at the Carmathian castle of al-Aḥejzer, and, after plundering the settlements between an-Neḡef and az-Zobejr, returned to ad-Der'ijje by the Pilgrim Road from al-Baṣra. In the late autumn of the same year his troops compelled the coast towns between al-'Ažēr and Râs al-Ḥejme as well as the outlying districts of 'Omân and al-'Asir to pay tribute.

SA'ÛD EBEN SA'ÛD, 1803-1814
RISE OF WAHHÂBITE POWER

Meanwhile, on November 4, 1803, Prince 'Abdal'azîz had been murdered in the mosque of at-Trejf in ad-Der'ijje by a Shiite, and his son Sa'ûd, who had led the armies for many years, now took over the government and bestowed the leadership of the smaller bodies of troops upon his eldest son, 'Abdallâh, who soon conquered the tribes to the north of Mecca, as well as the oasis of Ḥajbar, and harassed the borders of 'Omân.

In the autumn of 1804, the *sajjed* (descendent of Husejn, son of 'Ali, Muhammed's son-in-law) Sultân, lord of Maskaṭ in 'Omân, traveled to al-Baṣra in order to form an alliance with the Turkish Government against his oppressor, Eben Sa'ûd. The negotiations between him and the representatives of the governor of Bagdad took place in the little village of aċ-Ĉabde. Imâm Sultân recognized the overlordship of the Turkish Government, and in return the Government promised him energetic assistance. By this agreement Turkish influence was to be extended to all the possessions of the Imâm in Arabia, Persia, and East Africa. This certainly would not have been favorable to the interests of Great Britain, which was already vigorously active in the Persian Gulf. On his way home the Imâm was attacked by pirates and killed. His successor, Bedr, became reconciled with Prince Eben Sa'ûd.

In fulfillment of the agreement concluded with the lord of Maskaṭ, at the end of 1804 the Turkish Government equipped troops in Irak against Eben Sa'ûd. One detachment besieged the fort Kaṣr as-Sejjed, the old ar-Ruḡbe, which was occupied by the Wahhâbites, but, on hearing the news of the murder of Sultân and of the approach of strong Wahhâbite forces, the Turks returned to Bagdad. The Wahhâbites reached al-Baṣra by the Pilgrim Road, attacked the camp of the head chief of the Muntifež, Ḥmûd eben Tâmer eben Sa'dûn, destroyed the village of ad-Drejhmijje near az-Zobejr, plundered the inhabitants of the right bank of the Euphrates as far as Hît, and returned by almost the same route.

In the same year Wahhâbite detachments appeared on the borders of Syria, plundered the neighborhood of Aleppo, and compelled, first, all the nomad tribes in northern Arabia, and then, from the spring of 1808 on, all the settlements along the Syrian Pilgrim Road from Ma'ân to Aleppo, to pay tribute.

In April, 1806, 'Abdallâh, the prince's son, suddenly appeared before an-Neḡef, the second holiest city of the Shiites; some of his warriors mounted the high walls by ladders but were beaten back. Afterwards they attacked as-Samâwa and az-Zobejr and again returned home by the Pilgrim Road from al-Baṣra.

Even the settlements on the middle Euphrates had to suffer. Thus, in July, 1807, Hît, 'Ana, and other places were plundered, the Euphrates

was crossed, and the sheep and goat breeders (*šwâja*) encamped on the al-Ĥâbûr river were robbed.

In the spring of 1808 the Wahnâbites appeared before al-Bašra, besieged al-Hindijje and 'Ajn as-Sejjed, forced the surrender of the large oasis of Šefâta (or Šetâfa), and established one of their adherents as chief. But after their withdrawal the Turkish troops stationed in Kerbela seized the village of Šefâta and had many followers of Eben Sa'ûd beheaded.

At the end of 1808 Eben Sa'ûd again advanced against Bagdad. This time he followed the Pilgrim Road to al-Kûfa, as he intended to chastise the tribes who were encamped in the vicinity of the stations of Zubâla and al-Ġumejma and had submitted to the governor of Bagdad. He scattered them, left the Pilgrim Road, appeared before Kerbela, and plundered Šefâta, as-Samâwa, and the neighborhood of Sûḵ aš-Šjûḥ and al-Bašra. At the beginning of July, 1810, Wahnâbites who had crossed al-Ġowf and the depression of Sirḥân appeared before al-Mzêrîb and plundered the Ḥawrân and al-Belḳa' (the Biblical land of Moab).

The chief aims of Eben Sa'ûd, however, during this time were directed toward southwestern Arabia. In the Yemen and al-'Asîr, even in the chief towns of the south coast, such as in Makalla, the new teaching had found many adherents, who everywhere prepared the ground for their spiritual and temporal chief, the Imâm Eben Sa'ûd. He made use of every opportunity to conquer further districts, or to compel them to recognize his overlordship. In 1810 he controlled the district of al-'Asîr, the northern part of Yemen, and almost the whole western half of 'Omân, and a little later the Grand Sherif Râleb of Mecca was compelled formally to recognize his overlordship.

CONQUEST OF THE ḤEĠÂZ HEIGHT OF WAHNÂBITE POWER

The primary reasons which induced Grand Sherif Râleb to begin a decisive struggle with the Wahnâbites were not religious but political. According to the theologians, who to some degree represent public opinion in the Mohammedan communities, the Moslem is not entitled himself to explain the Koran and the religious traditions. He must, rather, follow the explanations and prescriptions of one of the four orthodox legal schools. The representatives of each of these schools have favored the explanations of their respective founders, but they also from time to time have inserted into the different explanations of articles of revelation as well as of traditions reasons for allowing various innovations, which have become deeply rooted in the practices of Islam. As a rule these representatives have at first tended to oppose any innovation; but when its adherents have grown in number public opinion has forced the theologians to recognize such a change as admissible, to proclaim it as true, and to support it by some article of the Koran or tradition. Thus, neither the Koran nor the earliest tradition admitted the communion of saints, religious orders, free indulgence in costly dress, or luxurious living — nevertheless, these were introduced into the Islamic World. The orthodox schools long objected to them, but at last were obliged to establish new explanations of the Koran and traditions which made these innovations legitimate. The strongest and longest resistance was offered by the fourth orthodox school, that

of Ibn Ḥanbal, which had adherents even in Mecca. The Ḥanbalites even now barely tolerate modifications of the old puritanical simplicity of early Islam. Ibn Tejmiġja (1263—1328), one of the prominent supporters of Ibn Ḥanbal, distinguished himself by his opposition to all innovations, his explanations finding acceptance in the Islamic World at large. To Ibn Tejmiġja Muḥammad eben 'Abdalwahrhâb referred after he had been proclaimed a heretic. Ibn Tejmiġja thus was Muḥammad eben 'Abdalwahrhâb's link with Ibn Ḥanbal. According to the adherents of Ibn Ḥanbal and Ibn Tejmiġja Wahrhâbite doctrine could at least be tolerated, if not proclaimed true, and this finally was done in Mecca.

Grand Sherif Râleb was aware of the relation of the Wahrhâbite creed to the teachings of Ibn Tejmiġja and therefore preferred not to pay much attention to the religious aspect of the situation but to lay stress, rather, on its political bearings. Eben Sa'ûd was acting as defender of the Wahrhâbite doctrine, the followers of which wished to invest and to purify the two holy cities. The Grand Sherif believed himself to be protector of the holy cities and of the whole of the Heġâz and had no mind to give way to Eben Sa'ûd. The faithful were in the habit of making their pilgrimages to al-Medîna, and some to Mecca as well, in order to honor the graves of Mohammed and his adherents. Yet it was the purpose of the Wahrhâbités to destroy these graves or at least to forbid their veneration. Had this purpose been accomplished, very few pilgrims would have come to al-Medîna, and the inhabitants of this town, as well as all the caretakers of the holy sepulchers in Mecca, would have lost their means of livelihood. The profit derived from the numerous pilgrims and from the rich gifts they brought enabled the inhabitants of Mecca and al-Medîna to live in luxury. These townsfolk had become accustomed to beautiful dress, many ornaments, and gay entertainments and could afford to smoke tobacco and drink not only coffee but intoxicating liquors. The Wahrhâbités intended to purge the holy cities of such dissipation and to train their inhabitants in modesty and simplicity. By accepting Wahrhâbite guidance the inhabitants of Mecca and al-Medîna would have lost not merely their income and comforts but the respect with which they were regarded by the pilgrims. Loath to consent to such humiliation, they were, naturally enough, ready for war to protect their earthly well-being.

War with the Wahrhâbités was not easy. The settlers and nomads of the Heġâz outside the holy cities did not derive much benefit from the lords of Mecca and al-Medîna and could not understand why they should be expected to shed blood and sacrifice property for them. As long as they considered their lord, the Grand Sherif Râleb, stronger than Eben Sa'ûd, they were willing to take part in military expeditions against the Wahrhâbités; but as soon as they became convinced that the Grand Sherif would be unable to hold out they began to embrace the creed of the Wahrhâbités and to recognize the overlordship of Eben Sa'ûd. Râleb lost one oasis after another, and one tribe followed the example of another in deserting him. Seeing his influence declining, the Grand Sherif sought help from beyond the Heġâz but could find it neither in Syria, Irak, nor Constantinople, the seat of the Turkish Sultan, who bore the honorific title "protector of the two holy cities of Mecca and al-Medîna." Râleb soon understood that he would have to rely upon himself and he acted accordingly. When his own brother-in-law, 'Otmân al-Medâġfi, whose duty

it was to defend the settlement of at-Tâjef, went over to the Wahhâbites and in February, 1803, was appointed by Eben Sa'ûd governor of this town, Râleb, knowing that the decision was approaching, repaired to the port of Jidda and entrusted the dealings with the Wahhâbites to his brother, 'Abdalmu'in. Their representative offered to surrender Mecca to Eben Sa'ûd, and, when at the close of April, 1803, the latter's first troops entered the city, the inhabitants assisted the Wahhâbites in destroying the holy sepulchers and readily accepted the doctrines which they had mocked for so many years. But the good will between the inhabitants of Mecca and their new lords did not last long. Sa'ûd, son of Prince 'Abdal'azîz, who was the leader of the military activities in al-Heġâz, made several attacks on Jidda. After being repulsed with heavy casualties, he appointed a representative in al-Heġâz and returned to his father at ad-Der'ijje. During his absence Grand Sherif Râleb came to an agreement with some confidants in Mecca, appeared before the city, with the help of the inhabitants drove out the Wahhâbite garrison at the beginning of July, and raided both his brother-in-law, 'Oṭmân, at at-Tâjef and the Wahhâbite garrisons in al-'Asir, especially in the ports of al-Kunfuda and Hali. Most of the raids were successful, and, when Prince 'Abdal'azîz was murdered at the beginning of winter, 1803, Râleb rejoiced that the danger from the Wahhâbites had past. But he was mistaken.

'Oṭmân al-Medâjfi, Râleb's brother-in-law, remained staunch in his loyalty to Eben Sa'ûd and endeavored to gain for him new adherents, not only among the Sherifs — or descendants of 'Ali's son, Hasan — but also among the chiefs of the very powerful Harb tribe. With their help he spread the teaching and influence of the Wahhâbites in such a manner that in 1804 he became master of Yambo, on which al-Medîna was dependent. Râleb held Jidda but from there was unable to provide the inhabitants of the distant Medîna with what they needed. In order to prevent the loss of the latter city he sent many messengers to the governor of Damascus requesting him to attack the Wahhâbites from the north and to secure al-Medîna; but the governor procrastinated, so that by the close of 1804 al-Medîna had to open its gate to the representative of Prince Sa'ûd, Imâm of the Wahhâbites.

At the beginning of August, 1805, the Heġâz Wahhâbites, strengthened by some troops from Neġd, surrounded Râleb in Mecca and cut off his connections with Jidda. Râleb tried to come to an agreement with Eben Sa'ûd but was not trusted. The Wahhâbites remembered the treachery of 1803 and threatened the invested city with vengeance. Râleb resisted the enemy with all his strength, but defense became more and more difficult, because Râleb's followers began to desert him, especially when hunger and contagious diseases broke out. In February, 1806, Mecca surrendered to the Wahhâbites, who for several days pillaged both this city and al-Medîna, which had tried to revolt. Later on Prince Sa'ûd restored order and entrusted the government of the Heġâz to Râleb, who yielded him the possession of Jidda and recognized his supremacy.

In the Heġâz the practices of the Wahhâbites were forced on both the inhabitants and the pilgrims. The holy sepulchers were destroyed or locked up, pilgrimages to them stopped, gold, silver, and silk ornaments forbidden, music silenced, and both coffee and tobacco proscribed. The beautiful Maĥmal litters, which had arrived every year from Egypt and

Syria accompanied by a band of music, were denied admittance lest they incite the pilgrims to idolatry and remind the inhabitants of the supremacy of the sultan in Constantinople. It was no longer the sultan in Constantinople who was lord of Mecca and al-Medîna but Eben Sa'ûd, who well deserved the honorific title of "servant (or protector) of the two holy cities of Mecca and al-Medîna, *hâdem al-ḥaramajn*," and could, therefore, have been considered as head of the Moslems, since the legitimate possession of these cities and the power to protect them are one of the first conditions on which a claim to the title of caliph, or Mohammed's successor, must be based. It is true that neither Prince Sa'ûd nor his father nor grandfather had longed for this dignity, but their opponents charged them with coveting it and affirmed that Eben Sa'ûd, Imâm of the Wahhâbites, wished to become caliph of the whole Moslem World in order to spread the Wahhâbite creed. These accusations, together with Wahhâbite raids into Irak and Syria and the preaching of their missionaries against all innovations in Islam, struck fear into the hearts of Sunnites and Shiites alike. Representatives of these divisions urged the sultan to rid the holy cities of the heretic and to make safe the roads leading into the Heğâz. Considering the sad experiences of the governors of Irak and Syria with their expeditions against the Wahhâbites and fearing heavy outlays, the sultan had no mind to start a war against Eben Sa'ûd. Mehmed 'Ali, his governor in Egypt, however, was willing to drive the Wahhâbites out of the Heğâz and to break their power; but the sultan somewhat mistrusted him, and it was long before he would give his consent to Mehmed 'Ali's proposed expedition.

The prince of ad-Der'ijje now stood at the height of his power. What neither the Prophet Mohammed nor any of his successors had succeeded in doing, ruling the whole peninsula of Arabia not only in name but in reality, the energetic prince of ad-Der'ijje had achieved. His empire was more than twenty-five hundred kilometers long from north to south and more than fifteen hundred kilometers broad, an empire built up by great effort but one which could be maintained only by still greater effort. The supporters of the fallen ruling houses longed to win back their former power, and the great tribes of camel breeders were ready to desert the flag of Eben Sa'ûd at the moment when another flag promised a better prospect of booty. It was impossible for Eben Sa'ûd to control the various districts of Arabia in this manner; he did not have sufficient reliable troops to employ in garrisons, and therefore he had to grant self-government to various larger oases, a circumstance which merely tantalized the inborn yearning of the Arabs for independence. But a thrust from without, delivered with sufficient strength and supported by prudent words and rich presents, was soon to bring about the fall of the giant empire of Eben Sa'ûd.

This thrust was delivered by the governor of Egypt, Mehmed 'Ali. In the autumn of 1811 eight hundred Turkish cavalry, strengthened by volunteers from the Hwêtât tribe, advanced from Suez overland by way of al-'Aḳaba and along the east coast of the Red Sea as far as Yambo. They captured this harbor by the middle of October with the help of infantry shipped across under the leadership of Tûsûn, son of Mehmed 'Ali. Thence they continued their march with varying fortunes. Continual reinforcement came from Egypt, and thus the Wahhâbites step by step

were driven out of al-Medīna (November, 1812), Mecca (January, 1813), and other places in the coast district, and the most important approaches from inner Arabia were occupied.

‘ABDALLĀH EBEN SA‘ŪD, 1814-1818

EGYPTIAN CONQUEST

Prince Sa‘ūd died on May 1, 1814. His son and successor, ‘Abdallāh, had a difficult task. The Egyptians were driving his followers from the entire west coast, the Syrian troops occupied all the places he had held on the Syrian frontier, and the governor of Bagdad supported all the tribes who were harassing the Wāhhābites on the east. Prince ‘Abdallāh feared that his enemies would attack him in the very heart of his dominions. To prevent this danger he sent his brother, Fejṣal, at the head of a strong body of troops against the most dangerous foe, the Egyptians. Fejṣal at first won some successes but was completely defeated at the beginning of 1815 at Baṣal, near the oasis of Truba, and his troops scattered; the Turko-Egyptian leader, Ṭūsūn, now made preparations in al-Medīna for an expedition into the heart of Arabia.

His agents had so successfully worked for him with Egyptian gold in various settlements of al-Ḳaṣīm that he was soon able to seize the strong town of ar-Rass. He was now joined by the settlers of other places also, and in April, 1815, it appeared as if Ṭūsūn would conquer the whole of al-Ḳaṣīm. But Prince ‘Abdallāh summoned his faithful followers from al-Ḥasa, ‘Omān, and Wādī ad-Dawāser, united them with his own troops, chastised various detachments who wished to go over to the Egyptians, and occupied a camp between the settlements of al-Medneḥ and ‘Anejza, which Ṭūsūn intended to attack. Ṭūsūn received no reinforcements, no food, and no munitions and was compelled to retreat to ar-Rass. ‘Abdallāh followed on his heels and harassed his line of retirement from al-Ḥeghnāwi.

After some weeks Ṭūsūn perceived the necessity of offering ‘Abdallāh peace, and the latter was generous enough to impose no difficult terms. Ṭūsūn with his troops was to leave inner Arabia, and the subjects of Eben Sa‘ūd were to be allowed to pass freely through the territory occupied by the Egyptian troops. In the middle of 1815 Ṭūsūn returned alive from the interior to al-Medīna, which certainly would not have happened if Prince ‘Abdallāh had planned his destruction. The latter, however, after punishing all the settlements which had proved unfaithful to him, believed that he had saved his independence.

Meanwhile Meḥmed ‘Ali refused to accept the peace concluded by his son, Ṭūsūn, and prepared a fresh expedition to inner Arabia. This expedition was to be led by his other son, Ibrāhīm. At the beginning of December, 1816, Ibrāhīm occupied the important watering place of al-Ḥanākijje and induced the ‘Atejbe and some of the ‘Aneze tribes by threats and bribes to follow him. He held out hope to Chief Fejṣal eben Waṭbān of the Dawīṣ family of the powerful Mṭejr tribe that he would make him Eben Sa‘ūd's successor, and Fejṣal persuaded the Mṭejr to declare against Eben Sa‘ūd. The Ṣammar also and most of the Ḥarb, whose great camp in the mountains of Abānēn had been plundered, joined the Turko-Egyptians.

'Abdallâh eben Sa'ûd faced the Turko-Egyptian army at the wells of al-Mâwîjje, but his nomads could not withstand the enemy's artillery; thus, too, his settlers were shaken and he had to retreat to 'Anejza. Ibrâhîm followed him and endeavored to capture ar-Rass but lost his best warriors in unprepared attempts to carry the place by storm and had to undertake a long siege. The Wahnâbites, under the leadership of Fejşal, the prince's brother, harassed his troops and from time to time disorganized his communications with Egypt but still dared not support the hard-pressed town by an open attack. Ibrâhîm Pasha besieged ar-Rass for nearly four months until, at the end of October, 1817, the inhabitants submitted.

Prince Eben Sa'ûd retreated to Brejda, while 'Anejza had to open its doors to Ibrâhîm Pasha six days later, as a result of the explosion of all the ammunition stores there. Eben Sa'ûd now dismissed the majority of his troops to their homes and hurried to ad-Der'ijje. Brejda was captured three days afterwards; the whole of al-Ğaşîm belonged to Ibrâhîm. In order not to weaken his troops Ibrâhîm left no strong garrisons in the settlements but took with him from each some of the most prominent inhabitants as hostages. From Brejda he advanced by al-Međneb to the great settlement of Şakra', which was forced to capitulate after about a month, in the middle of January, 1818. Other oases followed its example, and the power of Eben Sa'ûd was on the wane. Near the capital, ad-Der'ijje, the strong fort of Ğrema prepared to resist, but this place was besieged, captured after a hard fight at the end of February, and destroyed.

At the end of March the Egyptian and allied troops, strengthened by reinforcements, approached ad-Der'ijje, which was protected by numerous advanced forts and ramparts, as well as by strong enclosing walls. Ibrâhîm had first to besiege the separate forts before he could direct his guns against the outer wall. Prince 'Abdallâh and his brother Fejşal conducted the defense, while the remaining adult members of the ruling house commanded at the different points of importance. The position of the besiegers on many days was extremely dangerous — particularly on June 21, when their whole ammunition supply exploded —, and the Wahnâbites pressed them on all sides. But, thanks to Ibrâhîm's iron will and brilliant organizing talent, the troops held out until fresh ammunition and new forces reached them. When a breach was made in the outer wall in the middle of August, numerous supporters of the prince fled, and some of the inhabitants of ad-Der'ijje surrendered to Ibrâhîm. Prince 'Abdallâh, however, with the remnant of his loyal followers still held out, finally holding only the mosque of at-Ğrejf, and did not submit until he had no ammunition left.

On September 9, 1818, Ibrâhîm was able to make his victorious entrance into ad-Der'ijje. He had lost thousands of his best troops before this town, but the center of the Wahnâbite movement was now in the hands of the Turko-Egyptian troops, and 'Abdallâh, the son of Prince Sa'ûd, who had sought to deprive the Turkish sultan of the caliphate, was now to go as a prisoner to the Turkish sultan and to learn his fate from the latter's lips. His fate was death, and 'Abdallâh was beheaded in Constantinople in the middle of December, 1818.

TURKO-EGYPTIAN CONTROL, 1818-1840

From ad-Der'ijje various detachments of Turkish troops traversed the surrounding districts without meeting with any notable resistance. The members of the ruling family of Eben Sa'ūd who had saved themselves by flight attached themselves to the various tribes of camel breeders, harassed the victors on their expeditions, but did not venture to attack any settlement. The Turks now occupied the whole of al-Ḥasa and put garrisons in al-Ḳaṭif and al-Hufhūf, whereby they awakened the suspicions of the British.

Ibrāhīm himself remained in ad-Der'ijje. At first he conducted himself with great mildness, but after some time he had all the members of the ruling house who had remained in the occupied settlements or had returned to them taken prisoner and sent over to Egypt, while he retained all their property for himself. At the end of May, 1819, at his orders the fortifications of ad-Der'ijje were razed, the palms cut down, and the houses burnt. At the end of July he betook himself to al-Ḳaṣīm and from there at the end of August to al-Medīna.

Shortly afterwards, on August 13, 1819, the English officer, G. F. Sadlier, arrived at ad-Der'ijje to learn the intentions of the Turkish Government and to dissuade them from any further advance toward the Persian Gulf.

After Ibrāhīm's departure the Turkish garrisons supported Muḥammad eben Mešāri eben Mu'ammer, a descendent of the ruling house of Eben Mu'ammer, which formerly had been overthrown by the house of Eben Sa'ūd. This Muḥammad had married a daughter of Prince 'Abdal'azīz eben Sa'ūd and was a man of vigorous character, who quickly found many followers, especially among the fugitive inhabitants of ad-Der'ijje, whose houses he promised to rebuild. They returned, and at the end of 1819 ad-Der'ijje was already partly restored. Muḥammad eben Mešāri was unable, however, to maintain his position for long. First he was attacked by the head chief of the Beni Ḥāled, Māġed eben 'Arej'er by name, whose overlordship he had to recognize. Afterwards various supporters of the house of Eben Sa'ūd rose against him one after the other, and at the end of March, 1820, he was driven out of ad-Der'ijje by Mešāri eben Sa'ūd, who had returned from Egypt. However, he succeeded in taking Mešāri prisoner and interned him in Sādūs and later in al-'Ajjēne. In November, 1820, the supporters of Muḥammad were reinforced by Turkish troops, but, for that very reason, many natives deserted him and attached themselves to the valiant Turki eben Sa'ūd, who at the beginning of 1821 had Muḥammad beheaded in ad-Der'ijje. The Turks could not save him, as their forces were too small and scattered.

At the end of 1821 the cruel Turk, Ḥsên bek abu Zāher, came to inner Arabia with the intention of establishing order. As a basis for this undertaking he chose the settlement of Tarmada, which he had strongly fortified. In this fortress he interned numerous hostages from different settlements which he had captured, plundered, and destroyed. The result of his proceedings was that the last remnants of the population of settlers joined the nomads and with them harassed both the Turko-Egyptians and the natives who followed them. The state of comparative peace which had been established in inner Arabia in the course of many years was

now destroyed, palm gardens cut down, wells choked up, and land which shortly before had been flourishing was made a waste. In 1822 the troops of Hsên bek were attacked at the watering place of Hâjer as-Sbê' and almost completely annihilated. Only the garrisons in the larger towns held out.

WARS OF LIBERATION. FEJŠAL REESTABLISHES POWER
OF EBEN SA'ÛD, 1821-1865

From this time under the leadership of Turki and his son Fejšal began the wars of liberation against the Turko-Egyptians. The chief points held by the Turks were ar-Rass, 'Anejza, Šakra', Tarmada, and al-Hufhûf. The latter place, however, had to be given up from time to time because of difficulties of communication. In the rainy seasons reinforcements came regularly from al-Medîna along the Pilgrim Road, and taxes were levied in the different settlements. The remaining troops endeavored to supply themselves with food for a whole year, the returning troops, again, to enrich themselves as far as possible. This raising of taxes was the chief function of the administrative officers. It was no wonder that the population longed for the return of the exiled house of Eben Sa'ûd.

The malcontents gathered round Turki and his son Fejšal, who in a short time occupied all the more outlying oases and defended them against every attempt of the Turks to recapture them. At the end of 1824 the valiant Fejšal succeeded in driving the Turks and their friends from the stronghold of ar-Rijâd.

The Turks were supported by the Mtejir tribe, whose head chief, Fejšal eben Dawiš, continually harassed the tribes and settlements subject to Eben Sa'ûd. His principal opponent was Meš'ân eben Mrejlet eben Haddâl, head of the 'Amârât tribe of the 'Aneze group. In the spring of 1824, at the watering place of al-Ağrâb, Meš'ân attacked a large caravan bringing clothing and munitions to the Mtejir from Irak, and completely looted it. On hearing this Fejšal eben Dawiš hurried after him with Egyptian troops and surprised him at aş-Šemâsijje. The 'Amârât obtained the victory, but the head chief Meš'ân lost his life.

In the summer of 1825 Mešâri eben 'Abdarrahmân eben Mešâri eben Sa'ûd escaped from Egypt and sought protection of Turki, his maternal uncle, who made him governor of al-Manfûha. Turki's power was increasing continually. At the beginning of 1827 he obtained possession of al-Kaşîm. Šâleḥ eben 'Ali, head chief of the Šammar, had to render him service in a campaign against the Beni Hâled, which ended in 1830 in the complete defeat of the latter and the conquest of al-Ḥasa. During this campaign Mešâri eben 'Abdarrahmân fled from al-Manfûha and sought allies for a rising against Turki from the whole neighborhood and even from Mecca. When his efforts proved fruitless, in the spring of 1832 he returned to Turki and was interned in ar-Rijâd. At that time Turki was defending himself in dire need against the reinforced Egyptian troops of Ismâ'il Bey and the Mtejir under Fejšal eben Dawiš, who in turn was opposed by Turki's blood kindred, the 'Aneze. In the many battles of the spring of 1833 Šaḥn eben Drê'i eben Šalân, head chief of the Rwala, especially distinguished himself.

Meanwhile Ismâ'il Bey was endeavoring to sow discord among the

members of the ruling house. He won over Mešâri eben 'Abdarrahmân, who at the beginning of May, 1834, caused Prince Turki to be killed near the mosque in ar-Rijâd. Mešâri was now recognized as prince by the Turks, but his rule was not to endure long.

Fejşal, the warlike son of the murdered Prince Turki at the time was in al-Ķaţîf with a strong army. On hearing the news of the revolution in ar-Rijâd, he hurried to al-Ĥasa to prepare for revenge. Among his most faithful followers was 'Abdallâh eben Raşîd, who proposed a bold plan. Following his advice Fejşal appeared in the neighborhood of ar-Rijâd at the end of May. Many of his warriors, natives of ar-Rijâd, returned unmolested to their families, won supporters for Fejşal, and in the middle of June introduced 'Abdallâh eben Raşîd with forty followers into the castle. 'Abdallâh slew Mešâri and thus saved for Fejşal the inheritance of his fathers.

Fejşal, accepted as prince on all sides, threatened the tribes who were following the Egyptians and gradually compelled them to join an alliance against the latter. In the summer of 1836 a general rising took place, and the Egyptian troops under Ismâ'il Bey had to retreat. But the Egyptian governor of Arabia, Ĥurşîd Pasha, sent fresh troops and with them Ĥâled eben Sa'ûd, a young member of the ruling family, who settled in 'Anejza in the spring of 1837. The settlers of Neġd saw that Ĥurşîd meant to copy the example of Ibrâhîm Pasha and break all resistance mercilessly; therefore they gladly received Ĥâled's emissaries and swore obedience to him. 'Abdallâh eben Raşîd was driven out and 'Îsa eben 'Ali established in his place as head chief in Ĥâjel. The whole district of al-Ķaşîm did homage to Ĥâled, and the gates of ar-Rijâd were voluntarily opened for him. Only the inhabitants of the oasis of Ĥawţa offered resistance and inflicted a severe defeat on Ĥâled and his Turko-Egyptians. Thereupon Fejşal, who had sought protection in al-Ĥasa, returned and from the beginning of September to the middle of November, besieged ar-Rijâd; he failed, however, to seize it, because his followers feared the vengeance of Ĥurşîd and made terms with Ĥâled. Ĥâled's supporters increased when at the beginning of 1838 Ĥurşîd Pasha himself came to Neġd with the fresh troops and made 'Anejza his base. He won over Muĥammad eben Dawîş, the successor of Fejşal eben Dawîş, and also 'Abdallâh eben Raşîd. His plan was to extend and consolidate the Egyptian influence, as Ibrâhîm Pasha had done. Fejşal eben Sa'ûd sent his brother Ġelwi to him with rich presents. Ĥurşîd accepted the presents, but he would not recognize Fejşal, whose energy he feared, and had Ġelwi watched in 'Anejza. Ġelwi contrived to escape to his brother Fejşal, whom he found in the oasis of ad-Dalam. At the end of October, 1838, Ĥurşîd left 'Anejza, joined Ĥâled's supporters and all the other allies, and at the beginning of December, 1838, surrounded ad-Dalam. The besieged were inadequately provisioned and forced Fejşal to treat. Ĥurşîd was ready to be merciful but only on one condition: that Fejşal with his brother Ġelwi and some of their kinsmen betake themselves to Egypt. Fejşal accepted the terms and left ad-Dalam on December 17, 1838. Thereupon Ĥâled was recognized as prince; but, as his complete dependence on Ĥurşîd Pasha estranged many minds, the natives looked about for a new member of the ruling clan and negotiated with 'Abdallâh eben Tnejjân eben Sa'ûd.

Hurşid Pasha occupied al-Hufhûf, approached al-Kaţîf, and his fleet threatened the group of islands of al-Baḥrejn. Before the protests of the British he had to abandon further advance, but he retained the settlements he had captured and endeavored to establish peace and order in inner Arabia.

Meanwhile, by the summer of 1840, the Turko-Egyptian garrisons had withdrawn from inner Arabia, and the settlements were left to themselves. The old ruling families of the various tribes now tried to recover their power, which led to fresh civil wars.

‘Abdallâh eben Tnejjân took ar-Rijâd in the autumn of 1841. He then made great and successful efforts to build up the fortifications of his capital and to drive out the remaining Egyptian soldiers. With them Ḥâled lost his last support and fled by way of al-Ḥasa and al-Kwejt to al-Ḳaşim and from there to Jidda, which he reached at the beginning of 1842.

‘Abdallâh eben Tnejjân, however, was unable to win over the followers of the imprisoned Prince Fejşal, and, when at the beginning of 1843 Fejşal with his brother Ğelwi and other kinsmen returned from Egypt to Neġd and found protection and help with his friend ‘Abdallâh eben Raşid, he was everywhere hailed as prince. Accompanied by ‘Abdallâh eben Raşid and his warriors under the leadership of ‘Obejd eben Raşid, he appeared before ar-Rijâd at the end of May, 1843, and at the end of June forced ‘Abdallâh eben Tnejjân to surrender. Shortly afterwards ‘Abdallâh eben Tnejjân died suddenly; it was rumored that he had been poisoned. As soon as Fejşal had reestablished order in ar-Rijâd and the neighborhood, he advanced against the Beni Ḥâled and gradually conquered the whole of al-Ḥasa with the towns of al-Hufhûf, al-Ḳaţîf, and al-‘Aẓêr. The tribes of the ‘Aġmân and Beni Ḥaġer had to render him service. In order to break the resistance of the inhabitants of al-Ḳaşim he deposed the old rulers and relied for support on the ‘Akejl, whose head chief, Nâşer eben ‘Abdarrahmân as-Shejmi, he appointed his governor. The deposed chiefs sought help in Mecca from the Grand Sherif, Muḥammad eben ‘Awn, who sent some tribes to al-Ḳaşim. Fejşal, however, offered the Grand Sherif yearly tribute of 10,000 Maria Theresa dollars (\$ 4500) and Muḥammad eben ‘Awn withdrew his troops, reserving to himself the protection of some clans of the Mtejr al-‘Alwijjân and ‘Atejbe tribes as well as of the western part of the al-Ḳaşim district. The other tribes who had joined him were unable to withstand Fejşal’s son ‘Abdallâh. The latter defeated the Dahâmşe of the ‘Aneze near at-Ṭarfijje, the eastern ‘Atejbe clans near the water of al-Aġrâb in 1850, and with his father, Fejşal, advanced by way of Ab-ad-Dûd into the neighborhood of the oasis of Brejda, whose lord, ‘Abdal‘azîz, in 1851 recognized the overlordship of Eben Sa’ûd and was obliged to carry out his dispositions. Fejşal’s influence now extended to the northeast, east, and south, almost as far as the domains of Eben Sa’ûd had extended in the time of his ancestors, but on the west and north he was not firmly established, and, when Fejşal or his sons made an expedition to the west or north, the Grand Sherif refused to allow pilgrims and caravans from the territory of Eben Sa’ûd to enter Mecca. In order to prevent this blow to his subjects, at the end of 1855 Fejşal had to abandon some oases of the eastern part

of the al-Kašîm district and to recognize Zâmel âl Slêm as independent lord of 'Anejza. Brejda also became independent, but Muhanna, the lord of this oasis, was afraid of the exiled family of Eben 'Alejjân and remained true to Fejşal, as also did Talâl eben Raşîd, the lord of Hâjel. At the end of 1862 there was renewed fighting in al-Kašîm, when Zâmel, lord of 'Anejza, was induced by the Grand Sherif to plunder some of Eben Sa'ûd's settlements. Against him Prince Fejşal sent his son Muḥammad, who, in conjunction with Muhanna, the lord of Brejda, put Zâmel to flight and compelled him to pay a yearly tribute.

As Prince Fejşal was nearly blind he had to leave the actual government to his sons. The eldest, 'Abdallâh, was a brave man but strict, and he was feared rather than loved. He resided in ar-Rijâd or al-Ḥasa. His younger brother, Sa'ûd, was a favorite of the people because of his generosity; he lived for the most part in the southwestern provinces, while the third brother, Muḥammad, ruled the northern provinces. The youngest son, 'Abdarrahmân, born in 1850, remained near his father.

CIVIL WAR BETWEEN FEJŞAL'S SONS, 1865-1874

When the ailing Prince Fejşal died at the end of 1865, 'Abdallâh, who had conducted the government for years, was generally recognized as prince but found no obedience in the provinces governed by his brother Sa'ûd. Gradually a civil war developed, in which in 1867 the northern districts came under Eben Raşîd's supremacy.

The majority of the settlers of the districts of ar-Rijâd and al-Ḥarġ finally placed themselves on the side of 'Abdallâh for fear that the once so flourishing realm should be ruined. Sa'ûd had to leave his province and seek protection and help among the 'Aġmân tribes, who had once been the subjects of his ancestors. Râkân eben Ḥaṭlên, the head chief of the 'Aġmân, made an agreement with Eben Ḥalife, the lord of al-Baḥrejn, and with the chiefs of the Âl Murra and advanced against al-Hufhûf, where at that time Aḥmad as-Sdêri was residing as Prince 'Abdallâh's governor. With the help of his younger brother, Muḥammad, the prince collected the warriors in his wide dominions, but so few came that he had to hasten to al-Hufhûf with only a weak force. His governor held out in the castle for several weeks but had to surrender when the enemy threatened to lay waste the gardens.

'Abdallâh learned of the fall of the town when he was halfway from ar-Rijâd to al-Hufhûf, and resolved to avenge it. He divided his warriors into several bands and ordered them to hasten by different routes to the watering place of al-Ġûde, where the main body of the enemy was stationed, to arrive at that place on the appointed night, and to join him again and attack the enemy at sunrise. But his opponents, who had occupied all the watering places of a wide area, scattered the different bands, killed over 2300 of 'Abdallâh's faithful followers, and drove him to a hurried flight. Sa'ûd, supported by Great Britain, now advanced with his followers against the seat of his family, ar-Rijâd, and at the end of 1870 entered it as lord. Various settlements, however, still resisted — in particular al-Barra, which 'Abdallâh also tried to assist, again suffering defeat.

'Abdallâh could now no longer remain in the land of his fathers. He loaded his treasures on a hundred camels and fled with thirty horsemen

from one tribe to another. At first he turned to Zâmel âl Slêm, the lord of 'Anejza, who, however, fearing the vengeance of Prince Sa'ûd, after a few days bade him continue his journey. Next he visited Prince Muḥammad eben Rašîd in Ḥâjel, but there too he was not allowed to linger. Finally he took refuge with Sulṭân eben Dawîš and 'Assâf abu Thên, the head chiefs of the Mtejr and Sbê', who were jealous of the power of the lord of ar-Rijâd and hoped to weaken him by civil war. 'Abdallâh tried to move them in his favor to active armed intervention against Sa'ûd.

When 'Abdallâh saw that he would find no support in Arabia, he sent at the close of 1870 his faithful follower 'Abdal'azîz eben Btejjen to seek help of Midḥat Pasha, the ambitious governor of the Turkish vilayet of Bagdad, which had been formed at the beginning of 1869.

Midḥat's aim was to win back all the territories which had once belonged to Bagdad, and he now made use of this opportunity to occupy al-Ḥasa again. This district, which had belonged to Irak from antiquity, had often been occupied and governed by the Turks; but, when the Ottoman Empire began to decline, the Turkish authorities had left the settlements and the head chief of the Beni Ḥâled carried on the government. Many families of Turkish officials who owned property in al-Ḥasa had remained there. The head chief had continually expressed his loyalty to the sultan at Constantinople. When threatened by external enemies, he had sought protection from the Turkish governor in Bagdad and had supported the Turko-Egyptian troops of Mehmed 'Ali who occupied al-Ḥasa, with interruptions, from 1818 to 1847. When these troops had withdrawn and the Turkish governor of Bagdad remained inactive, al-Ḥasa again became tributary to Prince Fejşal. When, now, Fejşal's son and successor saw himself threatened even in al-Ḥasa and sought Turkish help, the head chief of the Beni Ḥâled went entirely over to the Turks, since he hoped that they would allow him far more independence than Prince Sa'ûd did.

Midḥat Pasha proceeded very cautiously. First he won over Nâşer, head chief of the Muntifež tribe, then 'Abdallâh eben Şabbâḥ, lord of the port of al-Krên (or al-Kwejt) south of al-Başra; and, since this place provided him with the best approach to al-Ḥasa and also brought him allies, he ordered these allies under Nâfež Pasha to advance against al-Ḥasa in June, 1871. Young Mubârek eben Şabbâḥ led the troops on land, while 'Abdallâh eben Şabbâḥ commanded the forces brought by boat to al-'Azêr. Reinforced by the Beni Ḥâled and the followers of 'Abdallâh eben Sa'ûd, the allies rapidly occupied all the settlements, and al-Ḥasa was converted into a Turkish administrative area known as Neğd.

Prince 'Abdallâh, who had grudged al-Ḥasa to his brother Sa'ûd, had now to recognize that he himself had lost it. If Midḥat Pasha had remained longer in Bagdad he would certainly have attempted to incorporate inner Arabia with the Turkish Empire; but he was recalled. His successor, Raûf Pasha, was concerned only with his own welfare and reaped no advantage from the civil wars in inner Arabia. He endeavored to get 'Abdallâh into his own power, but the latter did not trust him and sent his brother 'Abdarrahmân to al-Ḥasa to treat with the Turkish Government. 'Abdarrahmân was brought to Bagdad and kept there until the beginning of 1874.

Sa'ûd, who was responsible for the Turkish intervention, continued to lose his supporters. When he relied on his wife's relatives among the

‘Aġmān tribe, he estranged the settlers, who, under the leadership of his uncle ‘Abdallāh eben Turki, expelled him from ar-Rijād in 1871. By great efforts Sa‘ūd succeeded next year in recovering ar-Rijād, but he was able to maintain himself there only by force. Al-Ḥasa he failed to recover, as he was deserted by the ‘Aġmān and Āl Murra and hard pressed by the ‘Atejbe. Muṣleṭ eben Rbê‘ān, the head chief of the latter, pillaged the western settlements of the prince of ar-Rijād, and, when at last the prince in revenge made a raid into the districts of the ‘Atejbe, he was surrounded in a deep basin, the majority of his followers slaughtered, and he himself severely wounded. He was brought to ar-Rijād by his slaves, lay for a long time sick in his castle, and died in the early summer of 1874. During his illness ‘Abdallāh, who had sought refuge at al-Kwejt, entered into a treaty with his sons and supporters, was reconciled with them, and returned to ar-Rijād as prince. But, as he did not trust the inhabitants of this town, he established his brother Muḥammad as his representative and settled in the vicinity.

‘ABDALLĀH EBEN SA‘ŪD, 1874-1887

RISE TO POWER OF EBEN RAŚĪD

Sa‘ūd’s sons were named Muḥammad, Sa‘ad, ‘Abdallāh, and ‘Abdal-‘azīz. The most capable of them was Muḥammad, who was surnamed Raḡalān. They betook themselves to the province of al-Ḥarġ, once ruled by their father, and at first supported ‘Abdallāh in his undertakings, with the result that he succeeded in bringing to obedience most of the disloyal provinces. As soon as this was achieved, ‘Abdallāh made preparations to win al-Ḥasa again and, with it, the direct route to the sea. Already in 1873 his supporters had been raising disturbances in various townships, and ‘Abdallāh hoped that the natives would drive out the Turkish garrisons and that he would then fall heir to their position.

But al-Ḥasa at that time was under the control, not of Raūf Pasha, the governor of Bagdad, but of Nāṣer Pasha, the head chief of the Mun-tiḡež and the first so-called *wāli* (governor-general) of the province of al-Baṣra, which had been separated from Bagdad. Nāṣer with his son Fāleḡ and the young Bezī‘ eben ‘Arej‘er at the end of 1873 made a raid into al-Ḥasa, punished the insurgents, and set Bezī‘ at the head of the government. Bezī‘, a descendant of the ‘Arej‘er house, to whom al-Ḥasa had belonged for centuries, dreamed of independence and everywhere sought for friends and allies, in order with their help to cast off the foreign yoke. He was opposed by the settlers, who, as well as the Bedouins, feared him and desired the return of the representative of Eben Sa‘ūd. Therefore, when ‘Abdarraḡmān eben Sa‘ūd in the spring of 1874 entered al-Ḥasa, all the enemies of Bezī‘ and the Turks joined him, massacred many garrisons, and shut up Bezī‘ in the fort of the al-Huḡhūf oasis. ‘Abdarraḡmān would have been victorious over his enemies, if his friends and allies had remained faithful; but, dreading the approach of the cruel Nāṣer Pasha, they abandoned the siege of al-Huḡhūf, and ‘Abdarraḡmān had to flee. Nāṣer, who was not inclined to allow his personal power to be diminished, at the close of 1874 attacked his untrustworthy representative Bezī‘, removed him, mercilessly exterminated all his friends, set his own son Mezjed at the head of the government, and in 1875 returned

to al-Baṣra with rich booty. But the cruelties committed in al-Ḥasa gave those in al-Baṣra, who were jealous of his power, fresh occasion to lodge complaints against him in Constantinople, with the result that he was deposed and brought to Constantinople, where he died.

The fact that the recently formed administrative district of Neḡd was not lost during the disturbances connected with the deposition of Nâser was due to the circumstance that Mezjed was supported by his fellow tribesmen, the Muntifež, and that Prince 'Abdallâh was involved in fresh civil war.

After the unfortunate attempt in al-Ḥasa, 'Abdallâh turned his attention to the north, to the district of al-Ḳaṣîm, which was still insecure. The lords of the different settlements — in particular Zâmel eben Slêm of 'Anejza — on the approach of 'Abdallâh's troops declared that they would again recognize his overlordship; but Ḥasan eben Muhanna, the lord of Brejda, resisted and implored Prince Muḥammad eben Rašîd for help. In a very short time the latter appeared with his warriors in al-Ḳaṣîm, relieved Brejda, and advanced against 'Anejza. Then Eben Sa'ûd sent the merchant 'Abdallâh eben 'Abdarrahmân eben Bassâm, a settler in 'Anejza, to Eben Rašîd to offer peace; peace was made when Eben Sa'ûd renounced his overlordship of al-Ḳaṣîm (1879).

'Abdallâh's kinsmen and the chiefs of the various tribes were dissatisfied with this peace and threatened to go over to Sa'ûd's sons, if al-Ḳaṣîm were not recovered. It was generally known that the wishes of Eben Rašîd were all-powerful in al-Ḳaṣîm, and it was to be feared that he would take measures from there against the actual dominions of Eben Sa'ûd. Furthermore, the lords of Brejda and 'Anejza also had accepted the authority of Eben Rašîd against their inclination and were ready to support the weaker, and consequently to them less dangerous, lord of ar-Rijâd.

Muḥammad, 'Abdallâh's brother, succeeded in winning over the 'Atejbe tribe. In 1881 and 1882 these 'Atejbe pillaged many camps of the Harb clans who had submitted to Eben Rašîd, and even attacked some oases southwest of the Salma' range. In the summer of 1883 also they undertook a great expedition against Eben Rašîd; but they were surprised by the latter and completely defeated at al-'Arwa. The chiefs of the 'Atejbe now challenged Prince 'Abdallâh to place himself at the head of the troops and make up for the defeat which had been inflicted on them.

'Abdallâh summoned all his followers and allies and at the end of 1884 advanced against Eben Rašîd. From his encampment in al-Ḥamâde he sent thirty-five camel riders under the leadership of Fejhân eben Ḥaḍar of the 'Atejbe to reconnoiter the camp of Eben Rašîd. But the latter was warned, surrounded the scouts, killed them all, fell upon the unsuspecting enemy with his whole force, and defeated them decisively.

This defeat for the time being marked the end of the power of Eben Sa'ûd. The various tribes again desired their independence, and the different members of the dynasty fought with one another. The sons of the dead Prince Sa'ûd, headed by Muḥammad eben Sa'ûd eben Fejṣal, appeared in ar-Rijâd in the spring of 1887, besieged Prince 'Abdallâh in his castle, and took him prisoner. To save himself 'Abdallâh appealed to Eben Rašîd for help. Eben Rašîd reached ar-Rijâd at the end of 1887,

liberated ʿAbdallāh, expelled Saʿūd's sons to al-Ḥarġ, took the deposed Prince ʿAbdallāh — who was called al-Imām — to Ḥājel, and established Fejṣal's two sons, ʿAbdarraḥmān as prince and Muḥammad as commander of the armies in ar-Rijāḍ.

ʿABDARRAḤMĀN EBEN SAʿŪD, 1887-1891

SUPREMACY OF EBEN RAŚĪD

However, as the lord of Ḥājel did not entirely trust either ʿAbdarraḥmān or his brother Muḥammad, he put a garrison of his devoted slaves into ar-Rijāḍ under the command of the courageous Sālem eben Subhān. Sālem at first acted everywhere in the interests of the two lords of ar-Rijāḍ and resisted all their adversaries. The most dangerous rivals were Saʿūd's sons, who caused continual unrest in ar-Rijāḍ from their almost independent province al-Ḥarġ, without, however, proceeding to open hostilities. As they might in time become dangerous even to Prince Eben Raśīd, Sālem resolved to rid himself of them by cunning. In the middle of 1888 he caused himself to be invited to visit them, entered al-Ḥarġ with only a small retinue, but ordered several hundred men to follow him and to wait in a certain hiding place near the residence of Saʿūd's sons, who were then attacked at sunrise. Muḥammad, Saʿad, and ʿAbdallāh were killed, and their families with the last brother, ʿAbdalʿazīz, were brought to Ḥājel and there interned. By this stroke the power of Prince ʿAbdarraḥmān was in appearance strengthened; but in reality he fell into still greater dependence on Sālem and Eben Raśīd.

ʿAbdarraḥmān, and still more his brother Muḥammad, appeared to take little interest in politics, but did everything to raise the prosperity of the settlers and thereby win their confidence. Gradually the internal disputes of the settlements and those among the tribes were amicably arranged, order was reestablished, trade enlivened, and many members of the ruling house won over for ʿAbdarraḥmān. In order to disturb this peaceful development Eben Raśīd now, in the autumn of 1889, allowed the interned Imām ʿAbdallāh and his nephew ʿAbdalʿazīz to return to ar-Rijāḍ. But ʿAbdallāh, whose only son, Turki, had died in the meanwhile, found no supporters, and until his death at the beginning of 1890 lived by his brother's grace.

After ʿAbdarraḥmān's authority had grown to a considerable degree, voices were raised demanding the independence of former days. His brother, Muḥammad, who was childless, took delight in planting gardens and in occasional small marauding raids against enemy tribes and had no longing for the title of Prince. ʿAbdarraḥmān himself was even more peace-loving and would have been satisfied with his position if he had not been incited to active opposition against Eben Raśīd by his son ʿAbdalʿazīz (born about 1867).

The young ʿAbdalʿazīz felt more than his father, ʿAbdarraḥmān, the shame that had been done to his family and sought for allies among his contemporaries, not only in ar-Rijāḍ but also in ʿAnejza, Brejda, and other settlements. Courageous youths, hearing of the heroic deeds of their forefathers under the lead of the energetic princes of the house of Eben Saʿūd, longed for an opportunity for similar activity and attached themselves enthusiastically to the scion of this house. Their fathers, and

especially 'Abdarrahmân himself, endeavored to calm their heated spirits, since they could not hope to break the great power of Eben Rašîd. Sâlem eben Subhân, the representative of Eben Rašîd, was aware of the proceedings of 'Abdal'azîz but would not intervene, as he felt completely confident of 'Abdarrahmân.

But the youth of ar-Rijâd would not be held back, and in the autumn of 1890 Eben Rašîd's garrison was attacked in the castle and so completely shut in that no one could escape. Only Sâlem himself, who took the precaution of continually changing his night quarters and had spent the night in a garden house, escaped from ar-Rijâd and brought the news of the rising to the lord of Hâjel. Muḥammad immediately called together his slaves, summoned some hundreds of settlers from Hâjel, and hastened to ar-Rijâd in order to liberate his followers. The young warriors of 'Anejza and Brejda wished to bar his way but were restrained by the older men, and the relieving force appeared before ar-Rijâd so unexpectedly that the followers of 'Abdal'azîz fled and the elders begged for mercy. Muḥammad eben Rašîd, who felt himself too weak at the moment, allowed mercy to prevail, punished no one, and returned to Hâjel as quickly as he had come. However, he was not disposed to suffer this stroke without further ado, especially as he learned that 'Abdal'azîz was again intriguing against him and that even the older men of ar-Rijâd, 'Anejza, and Brejda were joining 'Abdal'azîz, since they took Eben Rašîd's clemency for a token of his weakness and even fear. 'Abdarrahmân and his son 'Abdal'azîz collected the settlers and various tribes and united with them; at the beginning of 1891 the troops moved northwards and pillaged all the settlements and clans that had remained loyal to Eben Rašîd. Ḥasan eben Muhanna, the lord of Brejda, Zâmel âl Slêm, the lord of 'Anejza, and other great men of al-Kašîm awaited the allies in order with them to destroy the empire of Eben Rašîd.

Prince Muḥammad eben Rašîd realized the seriousness of the position and sent forty messengers on forty she-camels covered with black tent cloths to the various Šammar clans who at that time were encamped on the right side of the Euphrates between Kerbela and al-Bašra. The black covers were to express clearly to all subjects of Prince Muḥammad that their countenances and their honor would be covered with black shame if they did not immediately hasten to the aid of their lord. In Arabia honor is the worthiest possession, which no one desires to lose, and thus all the men capable of bearing arms hastened to Hâjel. Muḥammad advanced at their head against the enemy, and encountered them in February, 1891, at al-Mlêda, between 'Anejza and Brejda.

A long and bloody fight followed, in which even the blood-red flag of Prince Eben Rašîd would have been captured by his enemies had not the young slave 'Abdallâh âl Frêḥ hewed his way through the foe to his father Mubârek, the standard bearer. Mubârek fell dead, but his young son seized the flag, saved it, and in 1915 was still carrying it.

At last in March, 1891, by tactical cunning Muḥammad succeeded in breaking through the center of the enemy's position; he concentrated three thousand camels, caused the rear files of them to shy by setting fire to the bundles of brushwood with which they were laden, drove them all together against the center of the enemy, followed with his foot soldiers, and enclosed the two flanks. Those who resisted were cut down,

those who begged for mercy were made prisoners. The lord of 'Anejsa, his son, and five blood relatives fell; the lord of Brejda lost his left hand, and 'Abdarrahmân with his brother Muḥammad was taken prisoner. 'Abdal'azîz escaped by flight.

'Abdarrahmân was soon liberated and established in ar-Rijâd under the protection of the cautious Sâlem eben Subhân. But he could not and would not be the tool of the former vassal of his forefathers and after a short time fled to al-Hufhûf. He sent his kinsman 'Abdallâh eben Tnejjân to Constantinople to beg the sultan to help his house. 'Abdallâh returned to 'Abdarrahmân with gifts and many promises; but when 'Abdarrahmân saw that the Turkish authorities would not carry out their promises, he took up his abode with Žâsem eben Tâni, lord of the al-Kaṭar peninsula, and finally at the end of 1894 with Muḥammad eben Šabbâḥ, lord of al-Kwejt.

MUḤAMMAD EBEN SA'ÛD, 1894-1902(?)

ACCESSION OF 'ABDAL'AZÎZ

After 'Abdarrahmân's flight his brother Muḥammad was made prince in ar-Rijâd by Eben Rašîd. In order to make a revolt difficult the strong castle and outer walls of ar-Rijâd were destroyed, and a small garrison was left by Eben Rašîd in every place dependent on Muḥammad. In command of the garrisons was, at first, Sâlem, but from 1896 on, the slave 'Aġlân. Thus Muḥammad eben Sa'ûd bore only the name, the outward show, of the old ruling house, while the real power rested entirely in the hands of Eben Rašîd. Eben Rašîd endeavored also to subject the former provinces of the realm of Eben Sa'ûd and every year undertook campaigns against members of this house who refused to pay him tribute. The most capable, and therefore the most dangerous, he either caused to be slain or interned in Ḥâjel, in this way establishing peace, albeit a forced peace.

As soon as Muḥammad eben Rašîd was dead, in 1897, revolts took place in all parts of his dominions, compelling his successor, 'Abdal'azîz, to wage continual wars. 'Abdal'azîz's difficulties were still further increased by those members of the house of Eben Sa'ûd whom he had liberated. These men returned home longing for power and, at first, desired with the help of Eben Rašîd to drive out the lords of various oases; but when they found this help insufficient they joined his adversaries and fomented unrest on all sides. Some of these members of the ruling house, who were called 'Arâjef, betook themselves to Mecca and with the help of Grand Sherif 'Awn ar-Rafîk the Ḥarb and 'Atejbe tribes undertook campaigns against the oases of Neġd. Since their overlord, 'Abdal'azîz eben Rašîd, in consequence of his wars with the lord of al-Kwejt and with other tribes, was unable to give much attention to the affairs in the former dominions of Eben Sa'ûd, civil war raged, and all the settlers longed for a strong hand to protect their lives and property. The eyes of the leading men were directed to al-Kwejt where 'Abdal'azîz eben Sa'ûd, the ambitious son of 'Abdarrahmân, was living and preparing for the reconquest of his father's dominions. 'Abdal'azîz had ample opportunities of winning friends among the settlers of ar-Rijâd and other towns, since al-Kwejt from the end of the nineteenth century had been the most

favoured starting point and goal of the trade caravans of ar-Rijâd. As the lord of al-Kwejt, Mubârek eben Şabbâh, as well as the British representative, encouraged 'Abdal'azîz's plans, he was able to obtain for his countrymen various commercial advantages at al-Kwejt and to supply his supporters with arms and munitions, in this way carefully preparing the ground for intervention.

At the end of 1901, just when Eben Raşîd was planning to deliver a decisive blow against al-Kwejt and therefore had to weaken his garrisons in the district of ar-Rijâd, a rising took place in all the settlements of the former realm of Eben Sa'ûd. 'Abdal'azîz with his uncle 'Abdallâh eben Ğelwi now left al-Kwejt unostentatiously, reached ar-Rijâd without mishap in the middle of February, 1902, surprised and killed the governor, 'Aġlân, with his followers, and by the spring of 1902 was generally recognized as prince.

'ABDAL'AZÎZ EBEN SA'ÛD GAINS AL-ĶAŞÎM, 1902-1909

The Turkish Government wished to make use of the war between the houses of Eben Raşîd and Eben Sa'ûd in order to gain a firm footing in al-Ķaşîm. They were invited to take that course on the one hand by the inhabitants of al-Ķaşîm, who had suffered much from the long years of fighting, and on the other by Prince Eben Raşîd, who hoped to make use of the Turkish garrisons in al-Ķaşîm for his own ends.

In January, 1904, a Turkish force of about two thousand infantry with six light guns was collected at as-Samâwa in Irak, whence it set out for al-Ķaşîm, which had been brought under the influence of Eben Sa'ûd. On July 15, at al-Bkerijje, Prince 'Abdal'azîz eben Sa'ûd and his allies from al-Ķaşîm attacked the Turks and Şammar; the Turkish commander, Mâġed eben Hmûd, the leader of the Şammar, and many officers were killed, one gun was lost, and three others were recovered useless. The Turkish survivors with the Şammar advanced to ar-Rass where they remained immobile till the end of September, when they made a sally but were attacked by warriors of Eben Sa'ûd who took a second gun and much booty. Subsequently the Turks occupied a position at aĉ-Chafe, midway between Brejda and Hâjel.

Eben Sa'ûd wrote to Fahri Pasha, the governor-general of al-Başra, to exculpate himself for his treatment of the Turkish force and to offer his submission, coupled with a request for an allowance from the Turkish Government. After reference to the Porte, meetings took place on February 8 and 17, 1905, on the Irak-Kwejt frontier between Fahri Pasha and 'Abdal'azîz's father 'Abdarrahmân eben Sa'ûd, accompanied by Mubârek eben Şabbâh, in the rôle of host. The outcome was that 'Abdal'azîz eben Sa'ûd was appointed Turkish governor (*kâjmakâm*) and was assured that Eben Raşîd would not be allowed to interfere in his territory; in return he agreed not to object to the placing of Turkish officials and garrisons in al-Ķaşîm.

Meanwhile the Turks had been getting together a second expeditionary force at an-Neġef, which at the end of January, 1905, started under General Ahmed Fejzi Pasha to al-Ķaşîm and was accompanied by Fahad eben Haġdâl, head chief of the 'Amârât tribe of the 'Aneze group. Prince Eben Raşîd awaited Fejzi Pasha at the watering place of aš-Şihij-

jât on the Pilgrim Road and asked him to join in an attack on Prince Eben Sa'ûd for the purpose of driving him from ar-Rijâd. But the Turk had grasped the situation and saw that it would be more advantageous for him to act with the strong *kâjmaḳâm*, Eben Sa'ûd, according to the new agreement, especially as the latter paid the taxes demanded from him with great readiness. Long before the arrival of Fejzi Pasha Eben Sa'ûd had levied from every owner of a tent or a house a whole or half Turkish pound as a present for the Turkish general, who was highly delighted when a part of the money thus collected was handed over to him in al-Wtâl, where he was encamped. There he dismissed with tokens of his greatest displeasure the poor Eben Rašîd, who brought him no equivalent present, and threatened that he would have all his settlements pillaged, if Eben Rašîd did not fulfil his duty on the next occasion.

From al-Wtâl Fejzi Pasha advanced to 'Anejza, where he was received with festivities by 'Abdal'azîz eben Slêm and entertained for three weeks. Next he proceeded to Šâleḥ eben Muhanna at Brejda. During this time he put garrisons into the different settlements of al-Ḳašîm, fifty men each into 'Anejza and Brejda, and thirty men into each of the other towns. These men, however, were not to live inside, but in barracks built for them outside, the town walls.

Prince Eben Rašîd, who feared an attack on the part of Aḥmed Fejzi Pasha, encamped with his warriors in the settlement of al-Ḳwâra and watched the movements of the Turkish troops. It was a piece of good luck for him that the natives of Yemen at this time started a new revolution and that Aḥmed Fejzi Pasha was appointed commander-in-chief of the Turkish troops there. As a consequence, Aḥmed was obliged to set off for al-Medîna and the nearest port with a small following on camels; his troops were ordered to return to Irak and only the garrisons were to remain in al-Ḳašîm. But the return was very difficult for the Turkish troops. The head chief, Fahad eben Haddâl, who had placed camels at their disposal for the journey into al-Ḳašîm, had departed; Prince Eben Rašîd, who in the beginning had supported them as allies, now treated the Turks as enemies; Eben Sa'ûd took no trouble on their behalf, and the inhabitants of al-Ḳašîm pressed them to depart. The soldiers assembled at the oasis of aš-Šihijje on the northeast border of al-Ḳašîm, whence some of them managed to get to the watering place of aš-Šihij-jât and thence to an-Neġef by way of Wâḳṣa, begging their way from one Arab camp to another.

After the departure of Aḥmed Fejzi Pasha, Sâmi Pasha received orders to proceed to al-Ḳašîm. He went by the Heġâz Railway and arrived at al-Medîna but could go no farther, as he was not supplied with food or munitions. After about six months he left al-Medîna under strict orders from Constantinople and, with insufficient preparation, advanced with fresh troops by way of al-Fwâra and al-Ḥanâkijje to al-Ḳašîm. As his soldiers, suffering from hunger and thirst, deserted in crowds, when he reached al-Ḳašîm at the beginning of August, 1906, he had barely five hundred men. But the prince of ar-Rijâd, who had succeeded in defeating and killing 'Abdal'azîz eben Rašîd on April 12, 1906, and in occupying several settlements of al-Ḳašîm, showered presents on Sâmi Pasha also — all the more welcome, as he and his troops were in want of everything. The rest of the garrisons, who had been driven from the various settle-

ments and had assembled at aş-Şihijje, awaited their deliverance. When Sâmî Pasha entered this oasis he found there about one thousand sick soldiers without arms or munitions, because they had had to barter these for food. With such troops he could undertake nothing against Eben Sa'ûd, Eben Raşîd, or the strong towns in al-Kaşîm; indeed, Sâmî Pasha must have felt that he would be fortunate if he could escape with his life from inner Arabia.

Prince Eben Sa'ûd, who visited Sâmî Pasha in aş-Şihijje, supplied him with necessities and brought him to Mustağidda, the most southerly village of Prince Met'eb eben Raşîd, to whose care he and his soldiers were now delivered. Although Sâmî Pasha sent many messengers to al-Medîna and urgently implored help from Constantinople, no one heeded him, and at the end of 1906 he returned to al-Medîna. The soldiers gradually followed his example, and by the end of 1907 al-Kaşîm was again entirely in the hands of Eben Sa'ûd. The troops of Eben Raşîd were repeatedly defeated, and Eben Raşîd himself at the end of 1909 was forced to make peace and recognize the overlordship of ar-Rijâd.

RULE OF 'ABDAL'AZÎZ FROM 1908 TO 1914
REVIVAL OF THE WAHHÂBITE DOCTRINE BY THE EĤWÂN
AND SEIZURE OF AL-ĤASA

In order to prevent any attack from the direction of Irak or from the territory of the Şammar, 'Abdal'azîz eben Sa'ûd in 1908 founded the settlement of al-Artawijje. Its inhabitants from the beginning had to protect themselves against the attacks of various tribes at enmity with Eben Sa'ûd, and they regarded their warlike undertakings as acceptable in the sight of God because they protected and advanced the true religion. Calling themselves Eĥwân (Brethren), they bound themselves to the observance of religious duties and to indefatigable struggle against all enemies of the *mwahĥedîn*, the true believers. The Koran and the six acknowledged collections of religious traditions form the foundation of their belief. They prefer Abu 'Abdallâh al-Buĥârî's collection of tradition (Hadith) and the explanation of it by Ibn Tejmiĥja, an adherent of the school of Ibn Ĥanbal and his follower Muĥammad eben 'Abdalwahĥâb, the founder of their sect. The Eĥwân learn the Koran, perform the prescribed prayers, abstain from smoking, intoxicating drinks, silk garments, and golden ornaments; they respect the inviolability of matrimony, do not shave their beards, avoid any intercourse with Europeans and with all unbelievers, and are not allowed to buy their products. 'Abdal'azîz eben Sa'ûd approved of their proceedings, held them up as models, and, in short, planted settlements of Eĥwân in the midst of the most refractory tribes, especially in the southwest, where with their help he gradually conquered the local rulers. He extended his influence as far as the western parts of 'Omân, where he gave his support to all discontented parties and thus prepared great difficulties for the lord of Maşkaţ, Fejšal, and his successor, Tejmu'r.

Muĥammad eben 'Ali al-Idrîsî, the founder of the independent state of al-'Asîr, sought Eben Sa'ûd's friendship and help as early as 1910. The latter sent him some Eĥwân, who occupied some important settle-

ments in northern al-ʿAsīr, gained many followers, and defended the harbor and town of al-Kunfuda against the Grand Sherif Ḥusejn and his Turkish soldiers. Some of the clans camping in northern al-ʿAsīr as well as various branches of the ʿAtejbe and Ḥarb tribes encamped in the southern Heġāz paid tribute to the Grand Sherif and looked to him for help. In 1910, with the aid of the Turkish Government, Ḥusejn equipped several expeditions against the tribes of Eben Saʿūd and also endeavored to alienate his supporters in al-Ḳašīm. This was all the easier, as ʿAbdalʿazīz eben Saʿūd punished every disobedience mercilessly and would grant no special privileges to any member of the ruling family. During the internal confusion prevalent after the death of Prince Fejṣal several members of the house of Eben Saʿūd had founded all but independent realms and had to be brought by force to obedience to ʿAbdalʿazīz eben Saʿūd. The strongest resistance was offered by Saʿūd eben ʿAbdalʿazīz eben Saʿūd, who with his two brothers continually incited the Sbê clans against the prince of ar-Rijād. When they were finally decisively subdued in 1916, Saʿūd with his brothers fled to the Grand Sherif Ḥusejn, who offered them protection. Prince ʿAbdalʿazīz now demanded the surrender of his personal enemies, but the Grand Sherif supplied Saʿūd and his followers with gold and arms and sent them to the branches of the Ḥarb and Mtejr al-ʿAlwijjīn, who were his dependents, where they attached themselves to the head chief, Eben Ġibrīn, and with him made continual plundering raids into the districts of Eben Saʿūd.

In 1911 all pilgrim and trade caravans coming from the territory of Eben Saʿūd were refused admittance into Mecca by Grand Sherif Ḥusejn. This caused Eben Saʿūd to suffer not only material loss but also moral damage, and his subjects were incited to revolt, particularly in al-Ḳašīm, where the inhabitants were engaged almost exclusively in trade. In al-Ḳašīm, also, confidential agents of the Grand Sherif distributed presents freely and held out hope of troops to aid them. But Eben Saʿūd was not to be taken by surprise, and, at the beginning of 1912, his governor in al-Ḳašīm, Muḥammad eben Ġelwi, had the most eager followers of the Grand Sherif beheaded.

The greater and more powerful the dominions of Eben Saʿūd became, the more he desired unimpeded trade relations with the outer world. His subjects needed markets for various home products — such as wool, skins, fat, saddle covers, cloaks, sulphur, sheep, goats, camels — in order to get in exchange for them arms, ammunition, and clothing. When the markets of the Heġāz were closed to them there remained only those in Irak and on the Persian Gulf. But in Irak and along all the neighboring coast of the Persian Gulf Turkish officials ruled, who regarded with displeasure the growth of Eben Saʿūd's power and placed the greatest difficulties in his path. When the tribes of sheep and goat breeders (*šwāja*) encamped on the right bank of the Euphrates saw that the Government was not favorable to Eben Saʿūd, they took every opportunity of plundering the smaller trade caravans coming from his dominions and of ill-treating their escorts.

At the end of 1912 five respected citizens of ar-Rijād were robbed in the Turkish district by the Bdūr; they were bound hand and foot, buried up to the head, their heads smeared with fat, and left to die from thirst, heat, and the stings of insects. Prince Eben Saʿūd complained to

the governor-general of al-Baṣra and demanded atonement, but he received no answer. He therefore decided to procure satisfaction himself, and his detachments plundered the administrative area of Neḡd, the ancient district of al-Ḥasa, which was under the governor-general's jurisdiction. Conditions in that district were extremely wretched. While the Turkish Government was on good terms with the powerful Muntifeẓ tribe, its influence was comparatively great, as the Muntifeẓ would immediately suppress any rising. The head chiefs of the Muntifeẓ of the Eben Sa'dûn family from of old had been adversaries of the nobles of al-Baṣra; continual rivalry prevailed between them, and both endeavored to bring their influence to bear in Constantinople. In 1902 the *sajjed* Reḡeb, marshal of the nobles (descendants of 'Alī's family) of al-Baṣra, succeeded in winning the favor of the sultan and in procuring the nomination of a member of the nobility, Ṭāleb, to the post of *mutaṣarref* of al-Ḥasa. Thus this district became a kind of fief of the nobles of al-Baṣra. But now the nobles, and especially the *mutaṣarref* Ṭāleb, were completely under British influence. The British offered them ample opportunity of reaping profits from the import and export trade, and the nobles, therefore, with all their means promoted the economic and political interests of Great Britain. Ṭāleb remained in al-Ḥasa till the end of 1908. The natives were plundered under all manner of excuses, and trade could be conducted only through the mediation of Ṭāleb or his partners. It can be understood that in this way the last trace of sympathy for Turkey on the part of the inhabitants disappeared.

At the end of 1908 Ṭāleb returned to al-Baṣra, became marshal of the descendants of 'Alī, deputy, and in a short time, the real lord of this most important frontier town of the Ottoman Empire. At his wish Sa'dûn al-Aṣḡar, head chief of the Muntifeẓ, who had been loyal to the Government, was seized in the summer of 1911, brought to Aleppo, imprisoned, and poisoned (?) at the beginning of December, 1911. His son and successor, 'Aḡamī, was declared an enemy of the Ottoman Empire. By this means Ṭāleb Pasha and the nobles of al-Baṣra acquired uncontrolled influence, and al-Baṣra became the center of an autonomous movement, friendly to the British.

Ṭāleb took the greatest pains to win the friendship and support of Mubārek eben-Ṣabbāḥ, lord of al-Kwejt, and also of Prince Eben Sa'ûd, but in vain. Both suspected that Ṭāleb wanted to bring under his control, not only al-Baṣra, but also the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf, and this they could not allow. Their mistrust was kept alive by hints of foreign confidential agents who could use Ṭāleb as a tool but not as a leader. Eben Sa'ûd was further exasperated by the fact that the officials appointed in al-Ḥasa by Ṭāleb harassed Eben Sa'ûd's trade caravans and supported his enemies, the descendants of Sa'ûd eben Fejṣal.

At the end of 1912 Eben Sa'ûd dispatched a great trade caravan to al-Kwejt under the leadership of his son Turki. Both the *wāli* of al-Baṣra and the *mutaṣarref* of al-Hufhûf (al-Ḥasa) guaranteed its free passage, but, notwithstanding, it was attacked and robbed in the vicinity of Kal'at Ṣāhûd, the barracks of the garrison in al-Hufhûf. Thereupon Prince 'Abdal'azīz eben Sa'ûd appeared before al-Hufhûf at the head of his warriors in the second half of April, 1913. The Beni Ḥāled and the inhabitants of various settlements joined him, and the Turkish garrisons

had to surrender. They were conducted to the harbor town of al-ʿAẓêr and from there by a coasting vessel to al-Baṣra. The same fate befell the Turkish garrison of al-Ḳaṭîf. Eben Saʿûd placed his soldiers in the larger settlements of al-Ḥasa and nominated Muḥammad eben Ġelwi his governor.

It was in this manner that Eben Saʿûd without great difficulty obtained possession of the coast for a distance of over four hundred kilometers. Only the head chief of the Ḳaṭar peninsula, ʿAbdallâh eben Kâsem eben Tâni, resisted and protected the small Turkish garrison there. The lords of the larger ports to the east of Ḳaṭar of their own accord offered Eben Saʿûd tribute, since he now controlled all the trade routes of inner Arabia; by the end of 1913 his overlordship reached to the harbor of Râs al-Ḥejme.

ʿABDALʿAZÎZ ACCEPTS BRITISH PROTECTORATE, 1914-1915.

Prince ʿAbdalʿazîz had no desire, however, to break off relations with the Turks. At the end of 1913 he sent his kinsman, ʿAbdallâh eben Ġelwi, to Bagdad to expound to the Turkish Government the motives of his proceedings in al-Ḥasa and to ask for authority to administer and rule inner Arabia in the name of the caliph and the Ottoman Government. His request was at first not entertained. Only on May 15, 1914, when foreign plenipotentiaries had offered more active support if he placed himself under their protection, did the Ottoman Government grant his wish, nominate him *wâlî* and commander of Neġd (inner Arabia), and bestow upon him the title of honor, *ṣâheb ad-dawle* (ruler).

But almost at the same time as this advancement to the position of a high Turkish dignitary, holy war was declared against ʿAbdalʿazîz by Eben Rašîd, his former vassal and a Turkish protégé. With the arms placed at the disposal of Eben Rašîd by the Turkish Government the most northerly settlements of the first Turkish *wâlî* of inner Arabia were attacked. The Grand Sherif of Mecca prevented Eben Saʿûd from entering the Ḥeġâz, Eben Rašîd plundered all his caravans which endeavored to reach the Pilgrim Road from Bagdad and al-Kûfa, and the Zefîr and Bdûr tribes allied with Eben Rašîd harassed him in all his trade relations with lower Irak. In the summer of 1914 Eben Saʿûd complained about the proceedings of the various tribes dependent on the Turks and supported by them against his subjects, and demanded both in Bagdad and, by telegraph, in Constantinople that the Ottoman Government should not allow the authority of their *wâlî* and commander to be diminished; but all his efforts were fruitless.

As he was now cut off on the southwest, west, north, and north-east from all trade connections with the Ottoman Empire, the only route left open to him was to the east. But this route led to the sea; and the sea, the Persian Gulf, belonged to the British.

During his many years' residence in al-Kwejt ʿAbdalʿazîz eben Saʿûd had had ample opportunity of studying at close quarters the character of the British. He saw — as he confessed — that they supported the natives only in so far as was profitable to themselves, and Eben Saʿûd was not willing to be used. As he himself declared, he could not trust the British and therefore could not love them. As he was thrown back

upon them and their trade, he endeavored to be on good terms with them, treated their representatives in most friendly fashion, took presents from them, but did not allow them to interfere in the internal concerns of his dominions.

When the Ottoman Empire joined the Central Powers in the World War late in the autumn of 1914, Captain W. H. I. Shakespear, the British political officer in al-Kwejt, immediately was sent to Eben Sa'ûd and sought to move him to active intervention against Turkey. The messengers of the nobles of al-Baṣra, of the lord of al-Muḥammara, and also 'Abd-allâh, son of the Grand Sherif of Mecca did the same. 'Abdal'azîz protracted the negotiations, referred to possible unrest in his dominions if he should leave them, and sought for information as to the true position of Turkey and her allies. As a good Moslem and an Arab steeped in the feeling for freedom, he openly deplored the conduct of Tâleb, the marshal of the descendants of 'Alî in al-Baṣra, and the proceedings of the lord of al-Muḥammara. The Grand Sherif of Mecca, who shortly before had branded the subjects of the prince of ar-Rijâd and the prince himself as unbelievers, was held accursed on all hands, as soon as he had placed himself and also the Holy Places of Islam under the protection of the unbelievers.

Thrown back on his own resources, surrounded on all sides by enemies who were in part still supported by the Turkish Government, Eben Sa'ûd could do nothing against the British. On December 26, 1915, he signed a treaty with them which contained the clauses: "His Majesty's government does acknowledge and admit that Neḡd, al-Ḥasa, and Ḡubejl, and their dependencies and territories, which will be discussed and determined hereafter, are the territories of Eben Sa'ûd, who is an independent ruler of these territories and chief of all tribes. He has the right to choose his successor, whom Great Britain will recognize, provided that he is not her adversary. Eben Sa'ûd undertakes to refrain from aggression or interference with the territories of al-Kwejt, al-Baḥrejn, Ḳaṭar, 'Omân, etc.; the limits of these territories shall be afterwards determined. Great Britain will help Eben Sa'ûd and his successors against all external and internal enemies, and Eben Sa'ûd will abstain from signing any agreement with another Power without the consent of Great Britain."

Although Eben Sa'ûd accepted rich presents from the British, he asserted his neutrality. His tribes plundered the allies of Great Britain and supported 'Aḡami, head chief of the Muntifeẓ. 'Aḡami, who a short while before had been outlawed by the Ottoman Government, was at the head of all the tribes who remained faithful to the sultan and harassed all the friends and allies of the British. His greatest enemy among the nomads was Ḥmûd eben Swêt, head chief of the az-Zefîr tribe and an ally of Eben Rašîd; his greatest friends, Prince 'Abdal'azîz eben Sa'ûd and Ḡâber eben Şabbâḥ, a son of the lord of al-Kwejt.

RULE OF 'ABDAL'AZÎZ, 1916-1918

Sâlem, a son of Mubârek eben Şabbâḥ had two brothers, Ḡâber and Nâşer. Ḡâber, best friend of Eben Sa'ûd, had made good his position with the settlers of al-Kwejt, whereas Sâlem (supported by Nâşer) had won the tribes camping in the al-Kwejt territory. With their help he

attacked his brother, Ġāber, and his followers in order that he might succeed his old father, Mubārek, the lord of al-Kwejt. When Prince Eben Sa'ūd sent support to his friend Ġāber eben Šabbāḥ, Sālem incited Snejdān eben Ḥaṭlēn and Eben Mnēher, the head chiefs of the detachments of the 'Aġmān encamped in the north of al-Ḥasa, against Eben Sa'ūd. This was very easy, since the 'Aġmān supported the descendants of Sa'ūd eben Fejšal eben Sa'ūd, whose wife had been a woman of the 'Aġmān tribe. They wished to destroy Prince 'Abdal'azīz eben Sa'ūd, because he refused to advance against the Ottoman troops and the tribes friendly to them. His dominions were to be attacked from two sides, on the east by the clans of Mubārek eben Šabbāḥ led by his son Sālem, by the 'Aġmān, and the Murra, on the west by the Ḥarb and the 'Atejbe. The two last-named tribes were equipped by Grand Sherif Ḥusejn, who was enraged against the lord of ar-Rijād, because the latter refused to further his plans. Ḥusejn thought that the descendants of Sa'ūd eben Fejšal, or, as they were called, the 'Arāḡef, would place themselves at the head of his tribes, who were advancing against ar-Rijād. As a matter of fact some of them returned to Prince 'Abdal'azīz, swore loyalty to him, and actually observed it in the subsequent fighting.

The Ḥarb and the 'Atejbe were quickly driven back, but the 'Aġmān and their allies brought the prince into the gravest danger. In June, 1915, 'Abdal'azīz was living with his brother Sa'ad and with many kinsmen in the province of al-Ḥasa, in order to force the different detachments of the 'Aġmān to pay their tribute. These clans were encamped near the town of al-Hufhūf, and their herds were being reviewed. Sa'ad, the prince's brother, surprised the herds of one clan, robbed them, and killed some men. The head chiefs Snejdān eben Ḥaṭlēn and Eben Mnēher now took advantage of the excitement among their tribesmen, slew many of Eben Sa'ūd's warriors, and shut him up in al-Hufhūf. They were joined by many men belonging to the Beni Ḥāled and by many settlers, so that the prince was able to hold out in his strong castle al-Kūt only by the greatest efforts. At last, when 'Abdal'azīz and his men were nearly starved, relief troops appeared in the distance, the 'Aġmān and their allies were attacked and defeated; and after September, 1915, al-Hufhūf with the whole of al-Ḥasa again belonged to the prince of ar-Rijād. But Sa'ad, the prince's brother, and eight other members of the ruling house had lost their lives in al-Ḥasa.

Mubārek eben Šabbāḥ died on January 3, 1916, and his son and successor, Ġāber, at the close of July, 1917. Ġāber's brother Sālem was recognized as the lord of al-Kwejt, but his enemies intrigued against him and tried to gain the support of the Eḡwān; yet Sālem also found allies and wished to stop the advance of Eben Sa'ūd.

After the outbreak of hostilities between the Grand Sherif of Mecca and the Turkish troops (June, 1916), Eben Sa'ūd's detachments made numerous raids into the territories of Mecca, inflicted considerable losses on the followers of Ḥusejn, and alienated various clans from him. Through the combined advance of Turkish soldiers and the subjects of Eben Sa'ūd in the neighborhood of Ḥajbar in the early summer of 1916 direct communication was established between Eben Sa'ūd, the *wāli* and commander in Arabia, and the Turkish troops operating in the environs of al-Medīna. The Turks were thus supplied with camels. At the end of September,

1916, a delegation from Eben-Sa'ûd went to Damascus to discuss various questions with the Ottoman authorities, although at the end of November the prince himself visited the British in al-Bašra.

By the spring of 1915 several clans of the southern Šammar had joined Eben Sa'ûd, while clans of the northern Šammar followed Nawwâf, lord of al-Ğowf, and, as the prince of ar-Rijâd and the lord of al-Ğowf were friends and maintained strict order, peace reigned again in inner Arabia and trade began to flourish once more. Caravans, which often numbered more than five hundred laden camels, brought goods from al-ʿAžêr and al-Kwejt through the heart of Arabia to Damascus and supplied the population with food and clothing.

THE EĤWÂN

The growth of the influence of Eben Sa'ûd, however, was a thorn in the flesh of Sâlem eben Šabbâh, lord of al-Kwejt. He was egged on by the ʿAġmân clans, who had been expelled from al-Ĥasa by Eben Sa'ûd and had settled in the neighborhood of al-Kwejt. As they were dependent on the good will of Sâlem, they attached themselves to him entirely and helped him not only to silence his foes at home but also to compel the various disobedient clans to pay tribute. The latter sought the protection of Eben Sa'ûd, to whom in any case they owed tribute; consequently there followed, at first, provocative acts and then, at the beginning of 1918, more serious fighting between the subjects of Eben Sa'ûd and the followers of Sâlem eben Šabbâh. This gave Eben Sa'ûd a fresh incentive to occupy the port of al-Kwejt and to increase his customs receipts. But this act brought Eben Sa'ûd into conflict with the British Government, since by the treaty arranged at the end of 1915 he had expressly undertaken not to threaten al-Kwejt either directly or indirectly. He managed to avoid this conflict by pleading the excuse of the Eĥwân, an excuse that had a genuine foundation.

During the World War such a mass of arms and ammunition came into inner Arabia from different sides that even the poorest Bedouin was able to supply himself with a good rifle and an abundance of cartridges. But the war deepened the religious life of Arabia, and the teachings of the Wahnâbites were spread by word and writing, especially by the members of the growing brotherhood of the Eĥwân. They preached that it was the duty of every man to know Allâh, his prophet, and the religion revealed by him, to understand the reasons of his faith, to live according to that faith, and to remain true to it in every adversity. Only such a man had full right to be called a Moslem. As a Moslem it was his duty to teach others, not merely by words but also by deeds. Therefore he must avoid all connection with idolatry, he must abhor the worship of the saints and all ritualistic practices, and must confess that the last messenger sent to mankind by Allâh was Mohammed, and that after him no new prophet was to come.

It was most fortunate for Eben Sa'ûd that he could set a new and more religious goal before the warlike inclinations of his subjects, and still more fortunate that Fejšal eben Dawîš, head chief of the Mġejr tribe, had placed himself at the head of the military-religious movement. The Mġejr are among the most important tribes of inner Neġd, and the

Turko-Egyptian troops of Mehmed 'Ali had them to thank for the fact that they had succeeded in breaking the power of the Wahnâbites and in taking their capital. So long as the Turko-Egyptian garrisons remained in inner Neġd, the Mtejr were the greatest enemies of Eben Sa'ûd. After the withdrawal of the Egyptians, from time to time they had to recognize the overlordship of Eben Sa'ûd; but they took every opportunity of putting difficulties in his way and supported the advance of Eben Rašîd. Eben Sa'ûd had to thank the religious zeal of their head chief, Fejşal eben Dawîş, for the fact that during the World War the Mtejr had not allied themselves with Eben Rašîd and the Turks and that after the war they opposed all the suggestions of the messengers of King Husejn, although the latter justly reminded them that the Mtejr had always found friends and helpers against the Wahnâbites in the Sherifs of Mecca. In the eyes of Fejşal and the other Ehwân Husejn and his followers were backsliders, even traitors, who had used Islam as a tool for their own advantage and had sold the interests of the true believers, as the Ehwân considered themselves to be. All nomads and settlers in Neġd shared their views and willingly followed the Ehwân and their leader, Fejşal eben Dawîş, when he summoned them to a holy war; Fejşal was soon harassing the tribes of King Husejn to the west, the oases of Eben Rašîd to the north, and the clans and villages of Eben Şabbâh to the northeast. Prince 'Abdal'azîz eben Sa'ûd was able to give a new direction to the various raids, but he could not prevent them, since in reality Fejşal eben Dawîş and the Ehwân were stronger than he and since he himself wished to break the chain which the descendants of the Sherifs of Mecca, the inveterate enemies of his faith and political influence, were endeavoring to draw around him.

'ABDAL'AZÎZ'S RULE FROM 1918 TO 1921; SEIZURE OF HÂJEL

With the close of the World War the position of Prince 'Abdal'azîz eben Sa'ûd was much more difficult than before. Before the war he had found generous friends in the British, who protected him from the Turkish Government and made it possible for him not only to withstand his enemies in inner Arabia but gradually to annihilate them. After the war the weak Turkish influence disappeared, and in its place was the military and economic power of Great Britain, under whose protection many larger and smaller independent states appeared on the borders of Neġd, forcing back the influence of Eben Sa'ûd and alienating from him one tribe after another. Eben Sa'ûd had never contemplated such an outcome of the war, and it may be understood that he felt obliged to protect himself against such an encircling policy with all his means, even at the risk of violating the treaty of 1915 and thereby of causing the cessation of the British subsidy and of inviting a blockade of his harbors on the Persian Gulf.

The British Government perceived the difficulties of Eben Sa'ûd and endeavored to meet his demands, even though they thereby provoked their other allies for the time being. At their invitation Fejşal, a son of Prince 'Abdal'azîz eben Sa'ûd, accompanied by his kinsman Aĥmad eben 'Abdallâh eben Tnejjân, who had been brought up in Constantinople, proceeded to London, where on October 30, 1919, he was received by King George V,

together with Aḥmad eben Ġāber, the representative of the lord of al-Kwejt. Meanwhile Sir Percy Cox sought to renew the old friendship between the lords of ar-Rijād and of al-Kwejt. During his negotiations with 'Abdal'aziz in the harbor town of al-'Aẓẓer (end of September, 1919) he appealed to the treaty concluded on May 23, 1913, between Great Britain and Turkey, according to which the territory of the independent lord of al-Kwejt was to extend to an average distance of seventy miles on all sides of al-Kwejt, and the clans encamped in this area were recognized as dependent on al-Kwejt. But 'Abdal'aziz would not accept the Turkish concessions and insisted on his right of levying tribute on all the clans and settlements as far as the environs of al-Kwejt. Eben Sa'ūd's kinsman 'Abdallāh eben Tnejjān continued the negotiations in Bagdad, whither he betook himself at the beginning of February, remaining there till the end of September, 1920, but without obtaining a favorable result. Ḥaz'al, the lord of al-Muḥammara, offered himself to Sir Percy Cox as intermediary and sent his son, accompanied by Aḥmad eben Ġāber, the representative of the lord of al-Kwejt, to ar-Rijād in order to persuade Eben Sa'ūd to give way. Meanwhile Fejṣal eben Dawiš with his Eḥwān plundered not only the neighborhood of al-Kwejt but also the settlements lying on the borders of Irak and instilled such terror into the inhabitants of al-Kwejt that they enclosed their town with a high rampart and guarded all the entrances day and night. Fortunately for them, on February 27, 1921, their lord, Sālem eben Ṣabbāḥ, died, and his nephew and successor, Aḥmad eben Ġāber, who was a friend of both Eben Sa'ūd and Eben Dawiš and admired their energy, quietly accepted Eben Sa'ūd's overlordship and so liberated his territories from the impending danger.

In 1920 the Eḥwān led by Fejṣal eben Dawiš reduced the mountainous districts of al-'Asir, with Ebha as capital, to submission, and from the beginning of 1921 their attacks were mostly directed against the territories of King Ḥusejn and his ally, Eben Rašid. They appeared several times in the neighborhood of at-Ṭājef and al-Medina, conquered many coast towns on the Red Sea, and would have attacked Mecca, had their leaders not feared the power of Britain. In the spring of 1921 the British Government again pointed out to Eben Sa'ūd that they were willing to pay him a subsidy of £5000 a month, but only on condition that he observe the treaty concluded on December 26, 1915, and on condition that he attack neither King Ḥusejn nor any of his sons. Eben Sa'ūd, in urgent need of money for his Eḥwān, who in reality formed an independent wing, renewed his assent but pleaded the absolute impossibility of preventing all acts of hostility by his tribes.

In June, 1921, Eben Sa'ūd informed Sir Percy Cox, then British High Commissioner in Irak, that the representatives of his tribes and oases had implored him in May, 1921, to assume the title of Sultan, and he asked the British Government to concede to the wishes of the chiefs and to recognize his rank as Sultan. This was agreed to, but only after Eben Sa'ūd had made a declaration that he would not object to the establishment of Fejṣal, son of the king of the Ḥeġāz, as king of Irak. The signing of the declaration demanded of Eben Sa'ūd much self-restraint, for thereby he was enclosed by the chain formed by the family of the Sherif of Mecca and was cut off from all free relations with the civilized territories on his borders. Probably he hoped either that Ḥusejn and his

sons would be unable to maintain their dominion for long, or that the Eḡwân would be capable of breaking this chain.

It is fortunate for the government of Irak that the Shiite inhabitants of the places on the right bank of the Euphrates and also the Shiite nomads are bitter enemies of Eben Sa'ûd, whom they cannot forgive because his ancestors plundered their holy places; they are afraid that he may urge on his Eḡwân to commit similar barbarities. If this deep religious hatred did not divide the Shiites and the Wahhâbites and if the Shiites could join Eben Sa'ûd, the position of King Fejşal, whom the Shiite theologians systematically oppose, would, in a short time, be untenable.

The fighting with Eben Raşîd, who was supported both by Mecca and Bagdad, drove many clans of the Şammar to migrate to the borders of Irak and to place themselves under the protection of Fahad eben Haddâl, head chief of the 'Amârât. Fahad is an old enemy of Eben Şa'lân and Eben Sa'ûd, although a blood relative of both. Since an-Nûri eben Şa'lân was allied with Eben Sa'ûd, Fahad was afraid that he might be annihilated by them, sought protection of the government at Bagdad, and became an enthusiastic supporter of King Fejşal, although he respected neither him nor his house. The followers of Fahad eben Haddâl and the Şammar encamped with him made plundering raids on the tribes subject to Eben Sa'ûd and provoked them to acts of vengeance. As long as Eben Raşîd was not completely defeated Eben Sa'ûd could make no important expeditions against the borders of Irak. But when he entered Hâjel at the beginning of December, 1921, and set up his own governor there, the Eḡwân were free and Fejşal eben Dawîş was able to lead them against the states of King Ḥusejn and his sons.

'ABDAL'AZÎZ'S RELATIONS WITH THE BRITISH, 1921-1923

The Eḡwân won new followers both in the oases of the Şammar and also among the western and northern 'Aneze, who all recognized the overlordship of Eben Sa'ûd, their fellow tribesman. In July, 1922, the Eḡwân occupied the oases of al-Ġowf, where Sultân eben Nawwâf, the grandson of Prince an-Nûri eben Şa'lân, was appointed governor under Eben Sa'ûd. Shortly afterwards the oases of Tejma and Tebûk had to accept Eben Sa'ûd as their lord and pay the *zeka* tax to his representative.

Sir Percy Cox, who was honestly endeavoring to maintain the good will between Eben Sa'ûd and the British Government, congratulated him on his victory over Eben Raşîd and implored him to come to an agreement with King Fejşal, for which purpose he offered his services. Such an agreement, however, after the defeat of Eben Raşîd was even more difficult than before, since Eben Sa'ûd counted as his subjects all the tribes who had paid tribute to Eben Raşîd, and therefore his sphere of influence was extended to the right bank of the Euphrates between al-Fellûġe and al-Başra. In order to establish this as a fact, at the beginning of March, 1922, Fejşal eben Dawîş appeared with the Eḡwân and plundered all the camps and settlements in the neighborhood of Abu Râr and aş-Şakra whose inhabitants refused to pay tribute. The troops who should have defended the settlements were partly slaughtered, partly driven out, and only the British airplanes were able to force back the Eḡwân. When Sir Percy Cox called the attention of Eben Sa'ûd to these proceedings,

he excused himself on the ground that Fejşal had undertaken this raid without his knowledge and that he was unable to punish him in any way. In order to show his good will to Sir Percy Cox Eben Sa'ûd sent Aḥmad eben 'Abdallâh eben Tnejjân to al-Fejlîjje, the residence of the lord of al-Muḥammara, where he was to delimit the frontier between Irak, al-Kwejt, and Neġd. The negotiations were concluded on May 4, and a frontier was determined, but Eben Sa'ûd would not accept it — ostensibly on the ground that his representative had exceeded his powers but actually because the Żefir led by Ḥmûd eben Swêṭ refused to belong to Irak and sought the protection of Fejşal eben Dawîş. Consequently the Eḥwân together with the Żefir incessantly harassed the borders of Irak but without the aid of Fejşal eben Dawîş, who was engaged farther to the northwest and southwest. All the clans between al-Medîna and the Ḥawrân, who were loyal to King Ḥusejn and his son 'Abdallâh, were attacked and plundered one by one, and between Truba and Ebha the power of Eben Sa'ûd was consolidated and extended by many settlements of the Eḥwân.

In April, 1922, agents of Eben Sa'ûd came to Damascus where, as it appears, they entered into important negotiations with the representatives of the French Government. Their leader declared to the editor of the Arabic newspaper *Alef Ba'* that Eben Sa'ûd had not concluded any treaty with King Ḥusejn nor with his sons, 'Abdallâh in Transjordan and Fejşal in Irak, and that he would never obey a foreign government. He was willing to come to terms with King Ḥusejn but only on condition that no foreign power intervene in their negotiations. At the end of November, 1922, Eben Sa'ûd appointed the camel merchant al-Ḥâġġ Fowzân as-Sâbeġ his consul in Damascus, and Fowzân was recognized as such not only by the French but also by the British Government. He was the first representative of Eben Sa'ûd in a foreign country, and the British gave their consent to this appointment only after Eben Sa'ûd had given his assurance that he would sign and observe the Irak frontier agreement concluded at al-Muḥammara. The agreement was signed at al-'Ażêr on December 2, 1922. The important watering places of Ṭwâl al-Amṛar west of al-Bâṭen were recognized as neutral, and the territories of the Muntefiż, Żefir, and 'Amârât tribes were incorporated into Irak. In the north the Irak frontier reached the Ġebel 'Enâza, although this mountain never belonged to the Irak tribes.

On the same day, December 2, 1922, there was also signed an agreement, in which the frontier between Neġd and al-Kwejt was delimited. This line was to start from the eastern edge of al-Bâṭen, at a point immediately opposite the starting point of the Neġd-Irak frontier, and to run slightly south of east until it struck the twenty-ninth parallel of latitude at a point about forty-five miles west of the coast of the Persian Gulf and rather more than forty miles southwest of al-Kwejt. Thence it was to reach the coast of the Persian Gulf just south of Râs al-Ḳlê'a. This line was to constitute the indisputable southern frontier of the al-Kwejt state. To the south of this frontier a second area was delimited in which the Governments of Neġd and al-Kwejt were to share equal rights until a further agreement. The frontier of this common area was to start at the point where the first line struck the twenty-ninth parallel and to run first south-southeast and then due east until it reached the coast rather more than forty miles south of Râs al-Ḳlê'a.

Neither of these agreements was respected, since the Ehwân won many members among the tribes and clans, who were not willing to recognize their new lords. Many clans of the Dahâmše and Zefîr, supported by the Ehwân, refused obedience to King Fejšal. They caused him and his followers such difficulties that, in the spring of 1923, the Irak Government implored Sir Percy Cox to stop the payment of the subsidy to Eben Sa'ûd. The subsidy was stopped in October, 1923, and, since the Ehwân continued harassing the Irak frontier, Eben Sa'ûd was threatened with a blockade of his ports. To prevent this Eben Sa'ûd turned the attention of the Ehwân to the west, whither various clans who were dissatisfied with King Husejn had invited him.

'ABDAL'AZİZ'S RELATIONS WITH HUSEJN AND FEJŞAL, 1923

King Husejn, who found the high levies exacted from the pilgrims insufficient, was endeavoring to increase the contribution of the *zeka* and to raise these taxes without mercy. He employed his troops for this purpose. The tribes and clans escaped the danger by migrating to the territories of Eben Sa'ûd or by receiving his representatives into their oases. In this way the raising of taxes by King Husejn led to a war with Eben Sa'ûd. At the head of King Husejn's troops operating in the southern Heğâz and al-'Asîr was Sherif Râgeḥ. He occupied the settlement of Maḥâjel, whose inhabitants were massacred, and advanced against the oasis of Beni Šahr. On the way he defeated a detachment of Eben Sa'ûd sent from Ebha to the help of Maḥâjel, and on April 27, 1923, he reached Ebha itself, which great settlement he surrounded. But in a short time Eben Sa'ûd's reinforcements appeared, Râgeḥ was attacked and defeated, and his troops were almost entirely destroyed in their flight. During this fight a pilgrim caravan coming from southwestern Arabia and accompanied by soldiers of King Husejn was plundered. When Eben Sa'ûd heard of this he immediately sent agents who were to discover the property robbed from the pilgrims and to restore it to them or their heirs. He compelled a great expedition which the Ehwân had undertaken against King Husejn to be abandoned, lest they molest the pilgrims in the exercise of their religious duties. The Ehwân obeyed, but very reluctantly, since their brethren, not only from the southwest but also from the northwest, complained of the cruelties of King Husejn's tax collectors.

In the northwest King Husejn's troops were led by the Sherif Hazzâ' and Ismâ'il Effendi. First they compelled the inhabitants of the oasis of al-'Ela' to pay the *zeka* due. From there they proceeded by al-Heğr to al-'Arej'erijje, where they attacked the camp of the al-Âjde clan under the head chief Farḥân. The warriors of the Beli tribe led by Râšed eben Mankara, who also recognized Eben Sa'ûd as their lord, hastened to the help of the hard-pressed Âjde. The head chief Farḥân and many other chiefs of the Weld 'Alî fell, but at last King Husejn's troops had to yield, their leader Ismâ'il Effendi was killed, and with him also Ibrâhîm eben Refâde, lord of the port of al-Weğh, and al-Kzâz, Husejn's representative in al-'Ela'. Muḥammad, the son of the fallen Farḥân, betook himself to ar-Rijâd, which he reached on May 26 and where he was recognized by Eben Sa'ûd as head chief and assured of protection against Husejn. Eben Sa'ûd, in his official report of these events sent to his consul in Damascus,

never called Husejn King, but simply Sherif, and asserted that he was no longer able to prevent a general war with him.

In the autumn of 1923 small groups of the Ehwan appeared near the right bank of the Euphrates in order again to levy taxes. This caused Sir Henry Dobbs, British High Commissioner in Irak, to press for a permanent settlement on the frontier, and a British political officer was sent to ar-Rijâd to insist firmly that Eben Sa'ûd should send his representative to al-Kwejt, where negotiations would be conducted as to the frontiers of the various states and the dependence of the different tribes in accordance with the treaties of 1915 and 1922. Eben Sa'ûd responded to the request of the British, as he did not wish to break with them. At the negotiations he hoped that both Ahmad eben Ğäber, the lord of al-Kwejt, and an-Nûri eben Ša'lân, the head chief of the Rwala, would support his demands; even if this failed, he had the help of the Ehwan, who were able to keep watch as far as the banks of the Euphrates. The discussions opened in al-Kwejt on December 17, 1923. The conference was twice suspended and, on April 12, 1924, closed without any result, since the government of Irak was unwilling to expel the refractory clans of Eben Sa'ûd from the territory of Irak and Eben Sa'ûd was unable to prevent the raids of Fejşal eben Dawîş against those clans for the purpose of extorting the *zeka* tax. The representatives of Emir 'Abdallâh of Transjordan and King Husejn requested the restoration of the power of Eben Raşîd, and the incorporation of the whole depression of Sirhân, the basin al-Gowf and the adjacent country as far as Irak in Transjordan; but this demand met with scornful remarks on the part of the deputies of Eben Sa'ûd, while the representatives of King Fejşal were unable to support the demand, since their Mandatory Power had congratulated Eben Sa'ûd on his victory over Eben Raşîd, the protégé of King Husejn. A war with the latter seemed unavoidable.

King Husejn, a shrewd business man, at the beginning of the war had tried to sell his friendship at as high a price as possible. While in 1915 and at the beginning of 1916 his son Fejşal assured the Ottoman sultan and caliph of his father's loyalty, provided the sultan recognize him as independent emir of the Heğâz, his other agents offered his help to Great Britain. Lord Curzon seized this opportunity and ordered Sir Henry MacMahon, at that time British High Commissioner in Egypt, to deal with the covetous Grand Sherif of Mecca. Sir Henry MacMahon's letter of August 30, 1915, seemed to Husejn to provide a solid foundation for the realization of his loftiest dreams: a vast Arabian state with himself as caliph and king. The style of the draft of a treaty sent to him on October 24, 1915, however, was more cautious and deprived his future Arabian state of some regions he had hoped to obtain for it, especially of the coastal zone west of Damascus, Homs, Hama', and Aleppo; nevertheless it assured Husejn of the possibility that all his wishes might be satisfied after the victory. Husejn was surprised by such a generous offer and, knowing that he would never obtain so much from the Turkish sultan and caliph, after some hesitation agreed to the British proposals and signed the treaty at Umm al-Ğura' on January 1, 1916. On June 5, 1916, he declared the independence of the Heğâz. Although this deed caused many troubles to Great Britain among her Moslem subjects and although Husejn's and his sons' help cost more money than it was

worth, after the war Ḥusejn insisted on the fulfilment of all obligations incurred by the treaty of 'Umm al-Ḳura'. Great Britain, sincerely endeavoring to meet his claims according to the altered situation, detached Transjordan from Palestine, placing over it Ḥusejn's son 'Abdallâh as ruler; she proclaimed his other son, Fejṣal, king of Irak and was ready to support Ḥusejn as Caliph. Not all these tokens of her good will were sufficient to curb Ḥusejn's covetousness. In order to expedite an early acceptance of all his wishes by the British Government, his agents fomented difficulties in the mandated countries, and both governments, the French as well as the British, became seriously interested in his removal. The instrument for this deed was ready. 'Abdal'azîz eben Sa'ûd wanted only Great Britain's consent to destroy the descendant of the most dangerous foes of his house.

'ABDAL'AZÎZ'S WAR WITH ḤUSEJN, 1924

'Abdal'azîz eben Sa'ûd prepared for the war very carefully. He spent the spring of 1924 in al-Ḳaṣîm, securing the support of its inhabitants as well as of the Šammar tribes. The people of al-Ḳaṣîm and the Šammar had many friends in Mecca and al-Medîna. 'Abdal'azîz was not quite sure of their loyalty, especially since they were being stirred against him from Irak, and King Ḥusejn's agents promised them independence if only they would revolt against their oppressor, Eben Sa'ûd. To avoid, or at least to diminish, the danger from this quarter, Sultan 'Abdal'azîz used their old hatred against the tribes camping along the Heġâz Railway between al-'Ela' and 'Ammân. These tribes, who formerly had placed complete confidence in the protection of the Turkish Government and at the time of which we are writing relied upon the Emir 'Abdallâh and his British guards, were in the habit of making raids into the Šammar territory and of robbing the camel and trade caravans of the inhabitants of al-Ḳaṣîm. Prince Eben Rašîd was unwilling to revenge his subjects, because he feared losing the subsidy granted him by the Turks and later by King Ḥusejn. As the Turkish Government had vanished and King Ḥusejn brought to the Šammar and al-Ḳaṣîm no real help, they disregarded the ancient links of friendship with his house; attracted by greed for booty and vengeance they blindly executed the orders of Eben Sa'ûd and, led by his Eḥwân, harassed the tribes along the Heġâz Railway and interfered with the train service between 'Ammân and al-Medîna.

After the death of Sultân eben Nawwâf eben Ša'lân (at the beginning of April, 1924) the oasis of al-Gowf was fully incorporated into the realm of Eben Sa'ûd and made a stronghold of the Eḥwân. The depression of Sirhân, or natural route connecting Neġd with Syria, was occupied, and an Eḥwân settlement was founded at the village of Čâf. Similar Eḥwân colonies were erected at the oases of Tejma, Ḥajbar, al-Ĥâjet, al-Ḥwejjet, and Truba in order to prevent Emir 'Abdallâh and his tribes and soldiers from helping King Ḥusejn. From the south no help for him was to be expected. 'Ali eben Muḥammad al-Idrîsî, the lord of al-'Asîr, depended upon the good will of Eben Sa'ûd and, besides this, saw in King Ḥusejn an enemy of his house, and the Imam Jaḥja eben Ḥamidaddîn, emir of Yemen, was linked with Eben Sa'ûd by a treaty of friendship and was more interested in reoccupying the Red Sea coast than in the

welfare of the lord of the Ḥeġâz, whence neither Jaḥja nor his ancestors had ever received any support.

The warlike operations against King Ḥusejn began as early as August, 1924. On August 14 one detachment of Eben Sa'ûd's troops attacked the camps of the Beni Şahr tribe in the vicinity of 'Ammân. They were driven back by British airplanes and remained in the depression of Sirḥân, whence they made lesser raids against various clans. About the same time another body of Wahnâbites harassed the clans on the right bank of the lower Euphrates in Irak, but Eben Sa'ûd's main force marched against Mecca.

King Ḥusejn was aware of the danger, yet he felt sure that he would receive help from Great Britain, who had pledged herself to protect him against any Arabian emir as well as against his own subjects. He hoped that the people of the Ḥeġâz would defend themselves against the Wahnâbites, lest they be robbed and massacred as their ancestors had been a hundred years before. Yet both of Ḥusejn's expectations proved vain. Great Britain did not interfere. The inhabitants of the Ḥeġâz trusted to the agents of Eben Sa'ûd as well as to the members of powerful Meccan families, who, exiled by Ḥusejn, had sought and found shelter with Eben Sa'ûd and now assured the Ḥeġâz people that Sultan 'Abdal-'azîz would wage war against Ḥusejn and his house only and that he would accord to the people of the Ḥeġâz full self-rule. As the people of the Ḥeġâz suffered under Ḥusejn a great deal more than they ever had under the Turks they had no mind to sacrifice their lives and property and consequently behaved rather passively when the Wahnâbites, led by the Sherif Ḥâled eben Lewi, lord of Truba, entered their country and threatened the town of at-Tâjef. 'Ali, Ḥusejn's eldest son, was sent by him with his best troops to protect the summer residence of the wealthy citizens of Mecca, but the Ḥeġâz troops were badly armed and badly paid and 'Ali had to withdraw in order to avoid a complete debacle. On September 10 the Wahnâbites entered at-Tâjef, and the Eḥwân committed many acts of cruelty. The more reasonable chiefs saved the town from destruction, and some exiled sherifs of the Zejd family organized its administration.

King Ḥusejn's situation became worse and worse. His wireless telegrams to the British Government for help were useless; the heads of the influential families of Mecca tried to avoid any defense, since they had no confidence in the Ḥeġâz troops and did not wish to incite the Wahnâbites; and the leaders of the National Council established at Jidda at the end of summer asked King Ḥusejn to abdicate and leave the Ḥeġâz. First they intended to expel all members of Ḥusejn's family, but the British Government did not approve their purpose and proposed that 'Ali, Ḥusejn's eldest son, should become king. On October 3, 1924, Ḥusejn was forced to abdicate and shortly after to leave the Ḥeġâz. He betook himself with his treasures to al-'Aḳaba, bitterly complaining that his action in abdicating had been influenced by the British Government, which had pledged itself to protect him and his throne.

'ABDAL'AZİZ OCCUPIES THE ḤEĠÂZ, 1924—1925

Sultan 'Abdal'azîz eben Sa'ûd had hardly expected so easy and early a victory. Scarcely had he received from his representative in al-Baḥrejn

the news of the occupation of at-Ṭâjef, of the quiet revolution against King Ḥusejn, and of the capitulation of Mecca on October 13, than he hastened to the Ḥeġâz. After his arrival at Mecca he did all he could to reconcile the inhabitants and to help them materially. He attended religious ceremonies, following the recognized orthodox school of Ibn Ḥanbal, and tried to convince the theologians of Mecca that the creed of the Wahnâbites was in conformity with their teaching. To the exiled citizens were restored all their lost rights, and they were invited to lay the foundations of self-government in their motherland. More difficult was the economic question. The harbors of the Red Sea belonged to, or were blockaded by, the government of King ʿAli, who was residing at Jidda and was supplied with soldiers, arms, and various goods by Ḥusejn, who sent them by coasting vessels from al-ʿAḳaba. Sultan ʿAbdalʿazîz had to buy all his provisions at al-ʿAzêr on the Persian Gulf and bring them across Arabia to Mecca and the other towns of al-Ḥeġâz. This was a very hard task, and that the sultan accomplished it is the best token of his energy and perseverance.

At the end of 1924 Sultan ʿAbdalʿazîz divided his troops. One part, composed mostly of the Eḥwân and commanded by Fejṣal eben Dawîš, proceeded toward al-Medîna to invest this decaying town, whereas the main force led by the sultan himself marched against Jidda. In the middle of January, 1925, the green flag of Eben Saʿûd bearing the words *Lâ ilâh ill-allâh muḥammad rasûl allâh* (There is no god but God. Mohammed is the apostle of God) could be seen from the walls of the last shelter of Ḥusejn's family. First the Wahnâbites and especially the Eḥwân thought that they would easily take this stronghold and ventured upon several attacks — but in vain. The defenders of Jidda were not disobedient and cowardly Ḥeġâz troops but trained soldiers who had served with the Turkish army and who hoped to reoccupy the holy city of Mecca and to punish the Wahnâbite heretics who had driven Caliph Ḥusejn from his residence. Most of the soldiers hailed from Palestine, some from Syria, since in both these countries Ḥusejn had many supporters whom he had promised political help, in Palestine against the Zionists, in Syria against the French.

Eben Saʿûd soon arrived at the conviction that it would be impossible for him to occupy Jidda and al-Medîna as long as Ḥusejn was allowed to supply his son ʿAli with the necessary provisions. Eben Saʿûd, however, understood the danger he would incur by leaving the siege of Jidda and al-Medîna. The withdrawal of his troops from Mecca would have followed, and all these tokens of his feebleness would have caused a violent reaction of the Eḥwân against him and his house. Yet Ḥusejn could be hindered by Great Britain only, and Sultan ʿAbdalʿazîz did not wish to approach the British Government. He had been trying to prove that he could dispense with its services and that he was an independent ruler and not a British protégé, as he was called by King Ḥusejn, who had published the treaty of December 26, 1915, between Eben Saʿûd and Great Britain. In the end Eben Saʿûd could not help promising that he would observe the boundary of Irak and not allow his tribes to violate it (as they again did at the beginning of 1925) and that he would be ready to accept a boundary between his dominions and Transjordan, provided ex-King Ḥusejn

were not allowed to use Ma'ân and al-'Akaba for the concentration and transport of troops employed against the Wahhâbites. As Ḥusejn continued to be a nuisance to the British Government, it had asked him to leave al-'Akaba; as he had not obeyed, he was brought on board of a British warship on June 18 and conveyed to Cyprus. As soon as Eben Sa'ûd received these glad tidings, he raised the siege of Jidda in the night of June 19—20 and quietly awaited the surrender of this port.

In the autumn the British Government sent to Eben Sa'ûd a representative who concluded with him two agreements. The Bahra agreement signed on November 1, 1925, enforces the supervision of the Irak boundary and provides for the establishment of a special tribunal to inquire into any violations of this boundary. The Ḥadda agreement signed on November 2, 1925, defines the boundary between Neğd and Transjordan in such a way that nearly the whole depression of Sirhân and the oases Čâf, al-Ğowf, and Tejma are given to Neğd. As the trade caravans going from Neğd to Syria are obliged to cross Transjordan territory the agreement states that they shall submit to whatever customs inspections may be necessary. Goods in transit across the mandated territory from Syria to Neğd or vice versa shall be exempt from customs and other duties, provided the caravan traders are in possession of a document from their government certifying that they are bona fide merchants. In signing these agreements Eben Sa'ûd abandoned his hope of linking up his territories with Syria. Two states ruled by two of Ḥusejn's sons were to form a chain holding him back in the desert and giving him no opportunity of obtaining necessary supplies except from harbors superintended by Great Britain. Between Neğd and French Syria there is a British corridor uniting Transjordan with Irak. Without British consent no goods and no arms can be imported into Neğd either by sea or by land.

The results of these new agreements with Great Britain were soon apparent. Al-Medîna surrendered on December 6, and King 'Ali abdicated ten days later. He did not wish to do so, but the British Government let him know that he would be compelled to comply with its advice. The throne of the Heğâz gained by King Ḥusejn and his family on June 11, 1916, was lost on December 19, 1925. Almost the very people of whose loyalty Ḥusejn had boasted on January 8, 1923, proclaimed 'Abdal'azîz eben Sa'ûd king of the Heğâz. At first Eben Sa'ûd did not aspire to the throne of the Heğâz. In his different letters to the Islamic World he promised to transform the Heğâz into a state administered by representatives of all Islamic peoples, but he soon learned that the realization of this promise would be very difficult and that it would be more advisable to join the Heğâz to Neğd, but to have it administered separately. Eben Sa'ûd could not afford to lose the Red Sea ports belonging to the Heğâz, since he needed money for his troops; the customs taken in at the Red Sea harbors brought a higher revenue than those of the Persian Gulf; furthermore, the pilgrims could be used not merely as sources of income but as means for propaganda. Since the beginning of 1925 Eben Sa'ûd has been taking vigorous measures to make the pilgrimage absolutely safe and has done away with many of the abuses and exploitations of the pilgrims which had prevailed under Ḥusejn.

To increase his reputation in the Islamic world Eben Sa'ûd invited

the Islamic states and communities to send delegates to Mecca to discuss ways and means of developing the prosperity of the Ḥeġâz and the security of the pilgrims. This invitation found an especially favorable reception in India, and the first Islamic Congress was held in Mecca in June and July, 1926. The deputies from India endeavored to model the Islamic Congress upon the National Congress in India. Their proposals, however, found some opponents and Eben Sa'ūd, fearing political difficulties, abstained from convoking the Congress for a second time. The constitution of the Ḥeġâz was framed not by the Congress but by a committee appointed by the king and proclaimed on August 31, 1926. According to this the kingdom of the Ḥeġâz is independent, subject to a hereditary king of the house of Eben Sa'ūd. It is administered in his name by his son. The king himself conducts the foreign policy and maintains the peace and security of the Ḥeġâz against all internal and external enemies.

At the beginning of 1927 'Abdal'aziz returned to ar-Rijād where he was visited by representatives of the inhabitants of Neġd. On January 28 these representatives, under the presidency of the Imām 'Abdarrahmân, 'Abdal'aziz's father, adopted a resolution making the sultanate into a kingdom and proclaiming 'Abdal'aziz eben Sa'ūd king of Neġd and its Dependencies. The new king decided that his title should be "King of the Ḥeġâz and of Neġd and its Dependencies." To these dependencies belongs al-'Asîr, which on October 21, 1926, recognized Eben Sa'ūd's protectorate.

As king of the Ḥeġâz Eben Sa'ūd was a member of the League of Nations and had the right to deal with all foreign powers, whereas as king of Neġd he was obliged to ask the British Government to do so on his behalf. In order to correct this anomaly both the British Government and Eben Sa'ūd were willing to conclude a new agreement, but the way to it was difficult. Eben Sa'ūd wanted the abolishment of the Protectorate Treaty as well as the incorporation of the Ma'ân and al-'Aḳaba districts into al-Ḥeġâz, whereas Great Britain was determined to save these two important districts and especially the harbor of al-'Aḳaba for Palestine and not to diminish her prestige in Arabia by abandoning the protectorate. After long deliberations the British agreed to abandon the formal protectorate over Neġd and to accept a compromise in the Ma'ân-'Aḳaba dispute, since in any event they would be able to enforce their will in Eben Sa'ūd's states by employing either their navy or airplanes.

On May 20, 1927, a treaty between Great Britain and the Ḥeġâz was signed at Jidda. The treaty of December 26, 1915, ceased to be effective, and the complete and absolute independence of the dominions of His Majesty the King of the Ḥeġâz and of Neġd and its Dependencies was recognized. The king undertook to maintain friendly and peaceful relations with the territories of al-Kwejt and al-Baḥrejn and with the sheikhs of Kaṭar and the 'Omân Coast, who are in special treaty relations with Great Britain.

The first of the notes accompanying the treaty deals with the question of the frontier between the Ḥeġâz and Transjordan, stating that the Neġd and Transjordan frontier reaches a point on the Ḥeġâz Railway two miles south of al-Mdawwara. From this point it proceeds in a straight line to a point on the Gulf of 'Aḳaba two miles south of the town of al-'Aḳaba, but the *status quo* in the Ma'ân-'Aḳaba district is to be maintained until favorable circumstances permit a final settlement.

CHARACTER OF 'ABDAL'AZÎZ EBEN SA'ÛD

King 'Abdal'azîz eben Sa'ûd, who rules in the name of his still living father, the Imâm 'Abdarrahmân (born, 1850), was born in 1867; he is comparatively well-educated, well-read, exceptionally honest, energetic, pious, and a lover of freedom. In his bearing he is very modest, unassuming, easy to approach, and generous. He is the strongest personality today in the great peninsula of Arabia. At the beginning of 1902, twenty-six years ago, he returned from exile to ar-Rijâd with a handful of followers, was able to produce from nothing, as it were, hordes of warriors, to conquer an empire today more than two thousand kilometers long by fourteen hundred kilometers wide with about two and a half million inhabitants, to establish peace and order and in this way to win the confidence, even the love of his subjects. "Happy are his friends, but woe to his enemies!" the Arabs say of him.

Besides the inhabitants of many flourishing settlements, various tribes, numbering over 200,000 tents, render him military service, so that he can put in the field more than 200,000 nomads and at least as many settlers.

His capital, ar-Rijâd, has some 1500 houses and great palm gardens. Thanks to his care not only ar-Rijâd but almost all the other settlements have been rebuilt and strongly fortified; the old fields and gardens have been restored, new ones planted, many craftsmen and merchants invited to the country, the roads cleared of robbers, and the general prosperity increased. His garrisons in the different settlements are supported by him, forbidden to exact anything from the inhabitants, and are responsible for any disturbance of public security.

The descendants of Muḥammad eben Slejmân eben 'Abdalwahhâb are related to the reigning house, for the sons of Eben Sa'ûd often marry their daughters. Members of the family of Eben 'Abdalwahhâb live at ar-Rijâd, in al-Kašîm, and in al-Ḥasa and administer justice. Upon them depend the theologians, or *mutawwe'in*, who preach and train teachers. In all the settlements by the prince's orders children must receive regular instruction. He desires that at least all the male settlers should be able to read and write.

The prince is very conscientious in the fulfillment of religious duties, but the fanaticism of the first representatives of the Wahhâbites is foreign to his nature, and in this respect the overenthusiastic theologians are not satisfied with him. In his view religion is "something which enriches and satisfies the heart of man but is not the outward tool of his covetous desires."

THE STRUCTURE OF EBEN SA'ÛD'S EMPIRE
AND ITS PROBABLE FUTURE

'Abdal'azîz eben Sa'ûd has the official title: King of the Ḥeġâz and of Neġd and its Dependencies. The Ḥeġâz is divided into three administrative districts with centers at Mecca, Jidda, and al-Medîna. Neġd and its Dependencies consist of four large provinces: al-Kašîm, al-Ḥasa, Ebha, and 'Âred. The towns of Hâjel and al-Ġowf as well as the depression of Sirhân belong to the province of al-Kašîm. Into the province

of al-Ḥasa are incorporated the districts of al-Kaṭif, Ḡubejl, and al-ʿAzêr. Ebha includes the vast districts between the Heġâz proper and the dominions of Imâm Jahja eben Ḥamîdaddîn. The remaining parts of the state of al-ʿAsir, only a few years ago quite independent, according to the treaty of October 21, 1926, recognize the protectorate of Eben Saʿûd and are superintended by the Governor of Ebha. The province of ʿAred forms the heart of Eben Saʿûd's realm. Southern Neġd belongs to it. ʿAred is administered by King Eben Saʿûd himself, whereas the other provinces are ruled by governors appointed by him. These governors are invested with practically complete power and are obliged to support them selves by the levied taxes and to send the balance to ar-Rijâd.

The inhabitants of Eben Saʿûd's vast empire consist of settlers and nomads. Both are organized according to their real or fictitious first ancestor. The fundamental and the strongest unit is the *ahl*, or kin, which includes male consanguineous relatives within a strictly defined degree of relationship (as will be explained in my forthcoming volume, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*). All members of the same *ahl* are bound actively and passively to help each other: they must secure the lives, property, and honor of each. Consanguineous kins form a clan, consanguineous clans constitute a tribe. The tribes themselves very often acknowledge that they have spring from a common ancestor and establish groups of consanguineous tribes, some of the groups being scattered all over Arabia. The common origin, however, does not hinder wars and feuds either among the groups and tribes or among the clans and kins. The members of a single kin are not seldom divided into two hostile parties; blood is therefore no firm link and cannot be regarded as the basis for a community or a state either among the settlers or among the nomads.

The settlers form a majority of Eben Saʿûd's subjects. Each oasis or settlement is divided into districts inhabited by members of the same kin or clan. Each district has its own chief, and the most powerful of the chiefs is regarded as head chief of the whole settlement. Some oases have two or even more head chiefs, and there is much strife among them for supremacy. A powerful head chief, who has imposed his will on all the other chiefs of the same oasis, tries to extend his power over the neighboring oases, and there follow long and bloody wars which bring ruin to the welfare of the inhabitants and destroy every possibility of stable political life.

The nomads show the same social structure as the settlers, and their head chiefs desire to subjugate as many other tribes and settlements as possible, since only raids and wars giving an opportunity for booty serve to keep their men together and to prevent them from revolting. As long as there are military expeditions to make and booty, whether good or bad, is obtainable, the head chief has an easy position, but trouble begins as soon as he is obliged to maintain law and order. The men grow dissatisfied, plot against him, and start violent movements to secure for themselves more appropriate occupations than the supervision of their herds and flocks. They consider raids and war as sport and cannot be easily persuaded to abstain from them.

Settlers and nomads have been enemies from of old. The Biblical account of Cain and Abel proves this. As soon as the head chief of the

settlers has subjugated some other oases he endeavors to induce the nomads—who, perhaps, may have been his best associates during his wars against these oases—to abstain from robbing the settlers, and he can enforce his will only with the assistance of the settlers. The hatred between his nomadic and settled subjects increases and threatens the existence of his rising state (see also below, pp. 316, 317).

To secure the state and his own life the head chief, or prince, is compelled to maintain a strong body of mercenary soldiers—almost always negroes—who, having no relatives among the settlers or nomads, are able to give effect to every order of their lord and to protect him against all enemies, since they know that their own fate is linked with his. The mercenaries are therefore the most hated and feared people in the entourage of a prince, and very often they cause his fall and the destruction of his state.

Neither the settlers nor the nomads can find all they want in inner Arabia. They have to visit tilled countries or ports to procure what is necessary for their households and occupations. The lords of such countries and ports have the best opportunity of imposing their will on the princes and head chiefs of Arabia, since it lies with them to open or to close their stores to the people of the desert. Through closing the boundaries or the ports for a considerable length of time they can bring about the fall of the most powerful prince. Hence they are a most important factor in the economic and political life of inner Arabia. Only an imposing personality who cautiously relies upon the support of the lord or lords of the ports and tilled countries in the neighborhood is able to found and keep together an Arabian state. Such a state is shaken as soon as its lord loses the favor and support of the lords of the seacoast and tilled countries; it splits up into its component oases and tribal territories as soon as the imposing personality at its head is succeeded by a man of less dominant character. This is especially true when the rulers of seacoast or tilled country support the opponents of a weak ruler in the interior—and such opponents are never lacking in Arabia.

The present empire of Eben Sa'ûd is like a building erected with marvelous rapidity on a sandy foundation of booty and kept together by the imposing personality of its builder and ruler, 'Abdal'aziz eben Sa'ûd, who has profited by the help of Great Britain, mistress of both the seas and the neighboring tilled countries. Without British help 'Abdal'aziz would never have erected this empire, since he would have lacked the necessary means; without British help he would be unable to hold it. In spite of British support his task of governing such a large and disparate area will grow even more difficult as time progresses. The inviolability of the frontiers will have to be enforced. No longer will the opportunity of gaining booty attract his levies, and the Ehwân whom he has used against his unfriendly neighbors will become a source of internal troubles.

The Ehwân form a religious body, and their principal purpose is the enforcement of the observance of the pure doctrine of Muḥammad eben 'Abdalwahhâb, the founder of the Wahhâbite sect. The establishment of agriculture to provide their families with food is a secondary aim with them. Their colonies or settlements, which form strange units among the nomads and settlers, are considered as military cantonments of Eben

Sa'ûd's standing army. The Eḥwân, like other mercenaries, are hated and feared. They hardly form a suitable basis for Eben Sa'ûd's empire, since, with their commander, they would be the first to reject Eben Sa'ûd should he fail to follow all the prescriptions of their creed. They now accuse him of being too mild toward other Moslems and too obedient to the Europeans, and their disapproval of his attitude is increasing with his introduction of various reforms and the sending of his sons to Europe or Egypt. Every reform movement is revolutionary in tendency and the Eḥwân will fight any innovation which they find contrary to their beliefs.

(A genealogical table of the house of Eben Sa'ûd will be found in the pocket at the back of the book.)

APPENDIX X

THE ALLEGED DESICCATION OF ARABIA AND THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT

Leone Caetani, author of the *Annali del' Islām*, asserts in this work that Arabia has become increasingly drier during historical times. He tries to prove this in two studies: *L'Arabia preistorica e l'essiccamento della terra* and *L'Arabia e gli Arabi dei tempi storici*, constituting Chapters 2 (pp. 51—288) and 3 (pp. 289—400) of his *Studi di storia orientale*, Vol. 1 (1911). Although in my paper, *Die Hypothese von der Austrocknung Arabiens* (1914), I pointed out that Caetani's theory is not substantiated by historical facts, the theory, nevertheless, has been accepted by some of the best Oriental scholars. For instance Sir Thomas W. Arnold (*The Caliphate* [1924], pp. 23f., referring in a note to Caetani's *Studi*, Vol. 1, pp. 281—282) writes: "One of the most illuminating discoveries made by modern historians in regard to Muslim history is the recognition of the fact that the enormous expansion of Islam... was an expansion of the Arab tribes... for this expansion of the Arab race was rather the migration of a vigorous and energetic people driven, by hunger and want, to leave their inhospitable deserts which had become impoverished through increasing desiccation."

In view, therefore, of the intrinsic importance of this subject and of the widespread acceptance of Caetani's views as authoritative, I have felt impelled to explain in greater detail the reasons which have induced me to reject his hypothesis.

In the preface to his *Studi* (p. xiii) Caetani promises not only to prove the progressive desiccation of Arabia during postglacial times but also to demonstrate that the emigrations of the Arab people out from the peninsula as well as the topographic changes that have taken place in Arabia in historical times have been due to this desiccation. His arguments are both geological and historical. As very little is known about the geology of Arabia we shall not attempt to follow Caetani through the maze of geological evidence adduced by him. We propose to discuss merely the historical texts which he cites.

CLIMATE OF ARABIA AT THE DAWN OF HISTORY

Caetani maintains (*ibid.*, p. 176) that for thousands of years at the dawn of history Arabia controlled the historical destiny of hither Asia and, furthermore, that (*ibid.*, p. 206) the Ancient World knew of Arabia as a country from which the inhabitants were obliged to emigrate lest they starve; as a land from which the lords of Babylonia imported stone, metal, and timber; and as a region crossed by world trade routes. Since the present condition of Arabia would make it impossible for that country to assume political leadership comparable to that which it held at the dawn of history, Caetani (*ibid.*, pp. 55 f.) is led to inquire whether the peninsula has always been as arid as it is today and to answer that, at a date not very distant as geological time is reckoned, Arabia was a smiling, fertile country quite different from the Arabia of the Middle Ages and of the present time. He postulates in postglacial Arabia (*ibid.*, p. 66) a torrential rainfall, meadows and rivers (*ibid.*, p. 120), and a numerous and wealthy population (*ibid.*, p. 177). The principal rivers of glacial and postglacial Arabia he believes to have been (*ibid.*, pp. 64-66 and map, p. 80) Wâdi Ḥawrân, Wâdi Sirhân, Wâdi ar-Rumma, and Wâdi ad-Dawâser, all of which he would have join either the Euphrates or the Persian Gulf. Wâdi Ḥawrân is made to rise at an altitude of 600 meters on the eastern fringe of the Ḥawrân mountains southeast of Damascus. In order to reach the Euphrates it would have to run up to the divide at an altitude of about 1000 meters between the watersheds of that river and of the lowland of ar-Raḥba. According to Caetani's map the oasis of al-Ġowf lies in the Wâdi Ḥawrân, but according to a statement in the text (*ibid.*, p. 243) it lies in the Wâdi Sirhân; neither is the case. The Wâdi Sirhân ends about 50 kilometers northeast of al-Ġowf. In postglacial times it could not have reached the Euphrates south of al-Kûfa, as Caetani shows it, because it would have had to pierce a mighty wave of land which begins at about lat. 33° 30' N., long. 39° E., and trends southeastward, forming the western edge of the Euphrates watershed. The same may be said of Wâdi ar-Rumma. The present Wâdi ar-Ruma' is divided into two separate sections by a sandy belt more than 70 meters deep and about 60 kilometers wide. These sands could not possibly have all accumulated, as Caetani assumes, during the historical period of increasing desiccation; they show that during this period Caetani's supposed river, Wâdi ar-Rumma, could not have carried the torrential waters of central Arabia to the Persian Gulf at "al-Quwayt" (as Caetani [*op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 53, 65] spells al-Kuwejt or al-Kwejt).

These imaginary rivers are the basis of Caetani's assumption (*ibid.*, pp. 129-131) that the Garden of Eden of the Bible was in the interior of Arabia and that, therefore, Arabia was once a beautiful country (*ibid.*, p. 135). He would have the Garden of Eden an inhabited tract from which increasing desiccation caused an emigration of the people, of whom some presumably sought a new home in the mountains of the Ḥeġâz and some in Babylonia and Mesopotamia, where the great rivers of Arabia would inevitably have led them (*ibid.*, p. 148).

The proofs for all these assumed historical events are exceedingly meager. For the location of the Garden of Eden in the interior of Arabia Caetani offers not a single shred of historical evidence. In support of his

theory of the great rivers of Arabia he joins (*ibid.*, p. 64) the Biblical Nahal Mišraġim (Num. 34: 5; 1 Kings 8: 65; 2 Kings 24: 7; Isaiah 27: 12) with the river of Musran of the Sabaean inscriptions, identifying the combined stream either with the "Wadi al-Humth" or with the "Wadi al-Aris," both of which he maintains were great streams in historical times (*ibid.*, p. 64). We know nothing about the "Wadi al-Humth." The identification of the Biblical Nahal Mišraġim, which formed the boundary between Palestine and Egypt, with the Wâdi al-Arîš was made long ago. I myself, however, have proposed (*Arabia Petraea*, Vol. 2, *Edom*, Part 2, pp. 47, 53) its identification with an-Nahr — about seven kilometers south of Gaza — on the grounds that the town of ar-Refah, which lies south of an-Nahr, is nowhere counted among the towns belonging to Palestine; that the southern watershed of an-Nahr (or Wâdi aş-Šini) forms the natural boundary between the tilled regions of Palestine and the desert to the south (see *The Northern Heġâz*, pp. 255—259), and that in the vicinity of its mouth, at least, an-Nahr has a continuously trickling stream which justifies the present name as well as the ancient name *nahal* (stream, river). The Assyrians also know of this "river"; the annals of King Esarhaddon, who crossed it in 670, include (British Museum K 3082, 3086, S. 2027 [Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions* (1861—1884), Vol. 3, pl. 35, No. 4, l. 12; Rogers, *Two Esarhaddon Texts*, pp. 65f. and plates 1, l. 17]) the significant remark "that he marched by the side of the Brook of Egypt, Naĥal [mātu] Mušur, a place where there is no river." This remark is the best refutation of Caetani's assertion that both the "Wadi al-Humth" and Wâdi al-Arîš were great rivers in historical times.

Caetani would prove (*op. cit.*, pp. 61, 190, 228) that the Assyrian Mušri is the same as Madian on the ground that in the time of Tiglath Pileser I there were elephants at Madian (*ibid.*, p. 61). As a matter of fact Tiglath Pileser received (Broken Obelisk [Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pl. 28], col. 4, ll. 29f.; Budge and King, *Annals* [1902], p. 142) "a great beast of the river" and "a great beast of the sea" from the king of the land of Mušri; this Mušri, however, must have been the Biblical Mišraġim, or Egypt. It was certainly not Madian.

Elsewhere Caetani (*ibid.*, p. 154, note 1) is inclined to identify the Babylonian-Assyrian country of Magan with Madian, although he is not sure of the location of the former, which in other connections he seeks in northern Arabia (*ibid.*, p. 61), in al-Jemâma (*ibid.*, pp. 179, 217), and on the Arabian shore of the Persian Gulf (*ibid.*, p. 154, note 1). In Magan there apparently lived bears and rhinoceroses in marshes covered with reeds, whereas at the present time, Caetani asserts, not a single tree would grow there. To determine the correct location of Magan and Meluĥĥa, which are often connected, is not easy, since we do not know whether these two names in the third millennium before Christ signified the same regions that they did in the first millennium. In the records of the third millennium Magan and Meluĥĥa seem to have denoted the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf and perhaps of the Indian Ocean as well. When we learn (British Museum Tablet 26,472 [King, *Chronicles* [1907], Vol. 2, pp. 117f.], reverse, ll. 1—4; British Museum Tablet K 2130 [Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, pl. 34, No. 1; King, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 137], reverse, ll. 16—18; King, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 9f., 38f.) that Naram-Sin, king of Babylonia about 2700 B. C., marched against Magan and subdued it, we gain an im-

pression that Magan represents a country bordering on Babylonia. The same idea may be derived from Gudea's inscription B (Sarzec, *Découvertes* [1884—1912], Vol. 2, pll. 16—19, col. 7, ll. 10—13; Sarzec, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. xii), which reports that Gudea, lord of Lagash (the present Tell Lôh in lower Babylonia) brought a block of dolerite from the mountain of Magan together with (*ibid.*, col. 6, ll. 26—40; Sarzec, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. xi) *ušu*-timber and gold dust from the mountains in the land of Meluhha. When we read (Nies, *Ur Dynasty Tablets* [1920], No. 84, l. 6; *ibid.*, p. 65) on a tablet preserved in the archives of Ur (the present al-Mūkajjer in lower Babylonia) that from this town caravans used to start for Susa and Magan, we are forced to think of the vicinity of the Persian Gulf. Indeed, the Magan and Meluhha of the records of the third millennium inevitably call to mind the territories inhabited by the classical Gerrhaeans. It is quite possible that the inhabitants of these countries traded not merely with the Arabian coast of the Indian Ocean but with the African coast as well and that the term Meluhha may have included the Biblical Kush and the later Ethiopia. Kush of the Bible lay in Africa as well as in southwestern Arabia.

The extension of Magan in the first millennium from the Persian Gulf to include lower Egypt may be compared with the extension of the Biblical Hawila, which was regarded as lying west of Babylonia as well as on the eastern shore of the Gulf of 'Aqaba; the Assyrian records of the first millennium speak of Magan on the Sinaitic peninsula and in lower Egypt, confining Meluhha to upper Egypt and Ethiopia (Esarhaddon's Annals [Rogers, *loc. cit.*; Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions* (1861—1884), Vol. 3, pl. 35, No. 4], l. 7). In upper as well as lower Egypt bears might have been hunted and rhinoceroses could have lived in marshes covered with reeds.

On the basis of his identification of Magan with Madian Caetani assumes (*ibid.*, p. 154) that in 5000 B.C. Arabia was covered with forests, which provided the timber necessary for the building of ships (*ibid.*, p. 238), and that it was from Madian that the Babylonians carried gold, copper, and timber for shipbuilding, whereas today these regions are deserts.—It is inconceivable that the Babylonians should have procured timber from Madian, the part of Arabia adjacent to the present Gulf of 'Aqaba, when they might have obtained it much more easily from the Mesopotamian and Persian mountains, whence it could have been floated down the streams during the rainy periods. They might also have obtained it from the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf, where it could have been loaded on ships. No one can admit that the timber necessary for building ships could possibly have been transported overland on pack camels across the desert from Madian. Those who would argue that it was transported from Madian by water would be obliged to admit that the Babylonians faced all the dangers of a passage through the Red Sea and Straits of Bâb el-Mandeb, exploits of which no mention is made in the Babylonian annals.

DESICCATION IN THE ASSYRIAN PERIOD

About the end of the second millennium B.C. Caetani's increasing desiccation would have forced the Chaldeans to leave their central

Arabian motherland and to seek a new home, first in al-Jemâma and al-Baḥrejn, later in the fertile strip known as aṭ-Ṭaff and in Babylonia, regions then very rich but now desolate (*ibid.*, pp. 193). In 702 Sennacherib would have subdued numerous Chaldean towns and villages lying in country which is now a barren desert (*ibid.*, p. 199). — It is, however, impossible to prove when and from where the Chaldeans came. The regions in which Sennacherib at the end of 702 looted the Chaldean towns and villages (British Museum Tablet 113,203, ll. 36—60; Smith, *First Campaign* [1921], pp. 64—76) were known to the classical authors (see my *The Middle Euphrates*, 1927, pp. 279—282) as very rich and today are covered with towns, villages, and hamlets, the prosperity and numbers of which will increase, provided British airplanes secure peace and order; the soil is extremely productive and water plentiful. There is no “*squallido deserto*” (Caetani, *op. cit.*, p. 199) and no sign of desiccation in these tracts.

Caetani records (*ibid.*, pp. 60f. and 87) that the Assyrian kings hunted elephants in the Lebanon and between the rivers Euphrates and al-Ḥâbûr, adding that there grows in these places at the present time not a single tree and that all is desert. — It is not, however, certain that Tiglath Pileser I hunted elephants in the Lebanon (Cylinder inscription [Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pl. 14], col. 6, ll. 70—75; Budge and King, *Annals* [1902], pp. 85f.). He boasts of having slain ten mighty elephants in the district of Ḥarrân and of the river al-Ḥâbûr, and that he caught four elephants alive. The same phrase, but without the mention of the number of elephants, is given on the Broken Obelisk (Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pl. 28), col. 4, ll. 7—9; Budge and King, *op. cit.*, p. 139), referring there, as the context shows, to the districts of Ḥarrân and al-Ḥâbûr and not to the Lebanon. If it be true that the Assyrian kings hunted elephants in the Lebanon district, we might add that in approximately the same region five hundred elephants were bred by the Seleucid kings (Strabo, *Geography*, XVI, 2:10) and that, if needed, elephants might easily be kept there by the present Syrian Government. Water is abundant, and there are large thickets, which would quickly grow were the Government to forbid the shepherds pasturing goats and sheep in them and burning the grass, subshrubs, and young trees in order to procure more luxuriant pasturage. The same may be said of the vicinity of Ḥarrân and the upper river al-Ḥâbûr. Like the aurochs of Europe or the bison of America, elephants were exterminated in the Lebanon, eastern Syria, and the valley of al-Ḥâbûr by man, not by desiccation.

Strabo's description of Madian is cited by Caetani (*ibid.*, pp. 87 and 120) as evidence of a luxuriant vegetation on which there lived wild camels, donkeys, deer, cows, lions, and other animals, all of which have now disappeared, owing, in Caetani's opinion, to the increasing dryness which has changed the country into the “*squallido deserto*” of today. Strabo (*Geography*, XVI, 4:18, quoting Artemidorus), Agatharchides (*Periplus* [Photius' version (Müller)], pp. 177—179), and Diodorus (*Bibliotheca historica*, III, 43f.) mention herds of cattle of various kinds in Madian. To what degree these reports are accurate it is impossible to ascertain. “Wild” camels are suspect in a narrow strip of land bordered and crossed by important trade routes and easily reached by sailors, who were obliged to go ashore every evening. Both sailors and caravaneers needed meat and would have hunted any big animals offering good flesh

in large quantities. The nomads camping in the vicinity and living primarily on camels would have taken great care to capture any wild camels, to tame them, and to hire them out to wealthy merchants for use in transporting the latter's goods. There is not a single sure proof of there ever having been any wild camels in Arabia; if such were the case they would have disappeared very early, because they could have easily been caught in traps at the watering places which they would have been obliged to visit. The "wild" camels were, perhaps, large herds of young animals belonging to camel breeders accustomed to renting adult beasts to merchants using the adjacent roads (see my *The Northern Heḡâz*, pp. 302—305). Such herds of "wild" camels were protected by their shepherds from beasts of prey (Diodorus, *loc. cit.*). Agatharchides and Artemidorus mention (*ibid.*) ἡμιόνες, a word which means, not donkeys, but mules and presupposes horses and human care. Such human care would also have been necessitated by the innumerable herds of cattle of various kinds (*ibid.*). Caetani translates ἡμιόνες as donkeys, asserting (*ibid.*, pp. 344—346) that horses were unknown in Arabia before the beginning of our era. It is not altogether easy to understand why the Arabs should not have bred horses in the third or second millennium before Christ, when, if Caetani is to be believed, there were rivers and luxuriant meadows in Arabia and when the Arabs had continuous intercourse with surrounding countries where horses were known and raised. It is hardly probable that the detachment sent in 702 B. C. by Queen Jatie to help the Babylonian king Marduk-apaliddin against Sennacherib (Cylinder, British Museum, 113,203, l. 28; edited by Smith, *First Campaign* [1921], p. 62) rode on camels. Nowadays no chief from the interior of Arabia would venture to lead camel riders into Babylonia and to stay there any considerable length of time, since he would fear that the ditches and marshes would hinder the quick movement of his mounts and that the innumerable flies would kill them.

The deer of Strabo probably were beatrix antelopes.

Most of the animals mentioned now live in the regions where they were placed by Diodorus and Artemidorus, since they find there all they want (see *The Northern Heḡâz*, pp. 107—125, 130f.). That their number has been diminished is due to man, not to desiccation. Lions were exterminated by firearms, the last having been reported only about 150 years ago in the vicinity of Kaşr al-Azrak (see my *Arabia Deserta* [1927], p. 337).

ALLEGED EVIDENCE OF DESICCATION

According to Caetani (*ibid.*, p. 267) the breaking of the famous reservoir dam of Ma'reb is additional evidence of increasing desiccation. He urges (*ibid.*, p. 296) that desiccation caused neglect of the dam, which thus fell into decay, and that wealth disappeared, the tribes emigrated, and the region became a desert. — The great Arabian dams — among them that of Ma'reb — were strongly built structures and no lessening of care caused by increasing desiccation could have injured them. Only flood or human agencies could have destroyed them. All such dams and irrigation works were constructed by strong and circumspect rulers and were brought to ruin by either internal or external enemies of these rulers. Exasperated foes try to destroy the principal roots

of the prosperity of a hostile region or town by cutting down fruit trees, filling-in wells, and breaking down dams. Nature is not as cruel as man. The ruin of the dam of Ma'reb and the alleged emigration of the tribes from this vicinity were, therefore, more probably a result of a succession of wars, both external and civil, than of progressive desiccation. Inscriptions Nos. 384, 540, and 541 from southwestern Arabia (*Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum* [1911], Part 4, Vol. 2) refer to internal disorders and wars in the second half of the sixth century of our era. According to No. 540, ll. 54—64, the dam at Ma'reb was broken by floods, but no indication is given of increasing drought or of any emigration of the tribes because of such a cause. The reference to the floods does not support a theory of desiccation, whereas the internal wars would fully explain the destruction of the dam. This destruction was fatal for the inhabitants of the town of Ma'reb only and did not affect tribes living in the surrounding territories. There are thousands of ruined dams in hither Asia, India, and southern Arabia, but their condition may hardly be taken as proof of climatic change.

A visit to Palestine or Transjordan shows, as asserted by Caetani, *op. cit.*, p. 86, the traces of former populations who were compelled to emigrate by lack of rain. A thousand years ago the population of these regions would have been ten times larger than it is today. — Since the end of the nineteenth century, however, new towns, villages, and hamlets have been built in the ruins not merely of Palestine and Transjordan but of Syria, Irak, and Asia Minor; their number is increasing, and after fifty years of peace under the British mandate — if such be its fortune — the whole of Palestine and Transjordan will presumably be cultivated. Lack of security and peace has caused the deterioration of these countries. Should the cities and towns after a hundred years fail to attain the splendor of the classical period, the cause will be changes in the world trade routes rather than increasing dryness of the atmosphere.

Caetani (*ibid.* p. 234) lays great stress on a gathering place of trade caravans and a watering place in the vicinity of Ma'ân, where there is no water at the present time; he affirms that this is clear evidence of desiccation. — The place described is identical with Ammu Trâb (see my *The Northern Heğâz*, pp. 3f.), which not only never served as a gathering place for trade caravans but is actually a garden easily maintained and irrigated by water, which is plentiful in the vicinity.

According to Caetani, desiccation has changed the surface of Arabia to such a degree that (*ibid.*, p. 378) in some of the more central parts of the peninsula neither human nor animal life may now be sustained. — Caetani fails to submit evidence to prove this assertion.

The Nefûd, which he places in the center of Neğd, according to Caetani is a dreadful region, especially during *samûm* storms (*ibid.*, pp. 304f.). To preserve their lives on these occasions animals are obliged to lie on the ground and hide their muzzles under their bellies, while the Bedouins have to wrap themselves in their coats and stretch flat on the sand. — In fact, the Nefûd is not in the center but on the northern edge of Neğd; altogether it is the most overgrown and generally delightful part of interior Arabia. Sand storms are dreadful everywhere in Arabia and in the Nefûd especially so, but no camel or Bedouin would try to save his life in the manner indicated by Caetani. They would hasten to reach

one of the *ka'ar* hollows or *farā* pits, which are so numerous in the sands, and to rest there while the *samūm* raged above them. By prostrating themselves on the ground they would invite suffocation, since the sand would pile up around them. No camel lies down during a sand storm. It knows that the nearer the surface of the ground the thicker is the sand-laden air. The animal, therefore, stands erect, holding its muzzle towards the wind and as high as possible (see above, p. 184, and *Arabia Deserta*, pp. 19, 159).

The coastal zone of al-Ḥeġâz is not, as Caetani assumes (*ibid.*, p. 294), the most arid and desolate part of Arabia, scarcely inhabited by man and animals. On the contrary it is one of the best irrigated and peopled portions of the northern half of the peninsula. Although it is hot, the natives are accustomed to the climate and, if life and property were secure, they might enlarge the numerous oases, cultivate cotton and tropical fruits, and convert the coastal zone into one great garden (see *The Northern Heġâz*, pp. 130f.).

DESICCATION AND THE EMIGRATION OF THE ARAB TRIBES

Caetani divides Arabia into two unequal parts, the western and the eastern. He would have western Arabia spread (*ibid.*, p. 210) between the Red Sea and the mountain chain which branches off from the Hermon and trends southeastward; eastern Arabia would extend from the crest of these mountains to the Euphrates and to the Persian Gulf. — This division is physiographically unfounded and was unknown both to the classical and Arabic geographers.

At the end of the second millennium B.C. the inhabitants of western Arabia, according to Caetani, were very rich (*ibid.*, p. 209). They were settlers with a high degree of civilization and they wielded political influence (*ibid.*, p. 212) over the inhabitants of eastern Arabia, who were nomads and very poor, since the desiccation imagined by Caetani progressed more rapidly in the eastern than in the western part of the peninsula (*ibid.*, p. 213). This process of drying up, however, gradually made life — even in the west — increasingly difficult and caused a gradual emigration into the more civilized parts of the Nearer East (*ibid.*, pp. 277f.). — Caetani provides no proofs for these assertions.

The emigrations of the Arabs between 2500 and 1500 B.C. were very violent and sudden, according to Caetani, since the tribes were starving and were obliged to find new country in order to save their very lives (*ibid.*, pp. 185, 188). This led to the conquest of Egypt (*ibid.*, p. 186) by the Semitic emigrants called Hyksos — who came, according to Caetani's map (*ibid.*, p. 192), from western Arabia — and to the entry into Palestine of the Hebrews, who originally inhabited the vicinity of Wâdi Sirhân (*ibid.*, map, p. 192). — We know neither the region nor the home of the peoples or tribes called Hyksos, and it is more than doubtful if we ever discover the original native land of the Hebrews.

Caetani (*ibid.*, p. 175) asserts that Babylonia, Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Syria did not prosper except when united under a single ruler. — History shows that from the end of the fourth century B.C. to the seventh century of the Christian era these countries obeyed different rulers but, nevertheless, attained civilization and prosperity as high, perhaps, as any

hitherto achieved. On the other hand, the same regions lost their prosperity when they were united under the rule of the Abbassides.

Each alleged emigration from Arabia forms for Caetani a proof of increasing desiccation; yet from the end of the sixth century B.C. until the beginning of the seventh after Christ Arabia, according to Caetani (*ibid.*, pp. 198 f.), sent no emigrants to the neighboring states. This lack of emigration he considers evidence of growing misery (*ibid.*, p. 200), owing to dissolution by drought of the tribes into their smallest units. These starving remnants of once powerful tribes, he believes, were incapable of attacking the Byzantine and Persian armies, which kept the gates of Arabia locked (*ibid.*, p. 273). Starvation, it would seem, caused many tribes to leave their native countries in southern Arabia and to march northward, where they found large regions without inhabitants and established the Ghassanian and Lakhmite states (*ibid.*, p. 268). The foundation of these states, then, should be ascribed to desiccation (*ibid.*, p. 272). — For the classical and Byzantine period we have many Greek, Latin, and Syriac reports on Arabia. Not a single one mentions territories destitute of inhabitants in the vicinity of the Persian and Byzantine borders. On the contrary, in this period the prosperity of northern Arabia reached a stage higher than that ever attained before. The world's trade routes at that time crossed northern Arabia, and the increasing prosperity of its inhabitants brought about the founding of various Arabian states, among them those of the Nabataeans, Rhambaeans, and Palmyrenes, and the state of Sampsiceramus (Strabo, *Geography*, XVI, 2:10; see my *Palmyrena* [1928] pp. 209, 238). The Ghassanian and Lakhmite states fell heir to the state of Palmyra and were certainly not formed by starving emigrants from the south (see my *Kusejr 'Amra*, pp. 131—147).

Caetani dwells (*ibid.*, pp. 268—272) upon the migrations and genealogies of the tribes, especially those of southern Arabia, and he believes that the Arabian tradition concerning these migrations is a reliable source which confirms the desiccation theory.

It is, however, easy to explain the so-called migrations from southern Arabia without reference to climatic changes. As long as the lords of southwestern Arabia held sway over the world routes which crossed Arabia, they placed outposts of reliable countrymen on these routes to protect the caravans and to watch the neighboring nomads. It is more than likely that many of the members of these outposts intermarried with the natives and settled down permanently in the stations and that their progeny thus recorded their descent from south Arabian tribes. These folk would then adopt native individuals and families and would become clans ruling over the various oases and tribes along the trade routes. When the world's trade took other routes and the rich caravans left Arabia, the rulers of southwestern Arabia no longer had any reason to maintain their supremacy over the stations along the now abandoned routes; the descendants of their former garrisons became independent and tried to extend their own influence as far as possible. Real or assumed affiliation with the lords of southern Arabia has always been considered a great honor in Arabia, and it is quite possible that many boasted of it without any real justification, precisely as many of the Moslem inhabitants of Africa and Asia have claimed to be descended from Mohammed, even though not a single drop of Arab blood flows in their veins. The history

of the Arab tribes is yet to be written. The historian who attempts this hard task will soon find that no reliance is to be placed on genealogies. Historical facts and the traditions handed down in the individual tribes and clans contradict the artificial pedigrees, nearly all of which were fabricated in al-Medîna and al-Kûfa in the seventh and eight centuries.

The south Arabian inscriptions (see above p. 310) make no reference to a migration of tribes from southern Arabia because of drought. On the contrary they refer to a flood which ruined the Ma'reb dam. As the reservoir here was repaired about the sixth century after Christ (*Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum* [1911], Part 4, Vol. 2, No. 541, ll. 90—92, 101—114) the tribes could not have emigrated much earlier than the beginning of the seventh; the Arabic authors, however, who describe the rise of Islam do not mention any historical tradition referring to an emigration of any tribe in the seventh century, and when they put the emigrations four hundred or five hundred years earlier they merely show their lack of historical justification for such assertions. If entire tribes really left their native country in southern Arabia they would have brought with them language and civilization and would have preserved both in the depopulated parts of northern Arabia, which Caetani maintains they occupied. Yet we find no tribe with south Arabian culture and language in northern Arabia. The Safaïc or Lehyanite inscriptions found in the vicinity of the trade routes were made by shepherds and guards watching over resting camels and are quite unlike those of the northern Arabs and their lords, Ghassanian or Lakhmite.

DESICCATION AND ISLAM

It is remarkable that Caetani brings Islam and its evolution into close connection with his theory of desiccation, for in doing so he is compelled repeatedly to contradict himself. He maintains that in the time of Mohammed central Arabia and al-Baḥrejn were rich and well populated (*op. cit.*, p. 307), that Neḡd was inhabited by farmers (*ibid.*), and that the Ḥeḡâz was ruled by settlers to whom the nomads were subservient (*ibid.*, p. 293). The delimitation of Caetani's Ḥeḡâz is not clear. He includes (*ibid.*, p. 234) Ma'ân in the Ḥeḡâz, writing (*ibid.* p. 293) that the greater part of the Ḥeḡâz belonged to the classical Arabia Petraea, although, as a matter of fact, the latter ended where the former began (see my *The Northern Ḥeḡâz*, pp. 255—259, 309—313). Elsewhere Caetani (*op. cit.*, p. 321) locates the Ḥeḡâz in Arabia Deserta in contradiction to classical and Arabic geographers alike (see my *Arabia Deserta*, pp. 498—500). Caetani asserts that Arabia in the time of Mohammed was very prosperous, his purpose being to explain the supposed numbers of Mohammedan emigrants and to obtain new evidence of desiccation in comparing the asserted prosperity with the present condition of the country. Affirming (*op. cit.*, pp. 316 f.) that the population of the present Ḥeḡâz is between 1,500,000 and 2,000,000, he postulates a number more than twice as great for the time of Mohammed. — Neither the biographers of Mohammed nor the early historians offer any support for this theory that the Ḥeḡâz contained 4,500,000 to 6,000,000 inhabitants in the early days of Islam; nevertheless, Caetani sets down these figures and refers (*ibid.*, pp. 313, 316 f.) the reader to the Wâdi al-Kura', a valley which, he asserts, in Mohammed's time was

filled with villages, whereas today it is deserted. — In the old Wâdi al-Kura' there is now plenty of water; the existing villages might readily be enlarged and the entire valley converted into a single oasis, were life and property secure (see above, pp. 123—125; *The Northern Heğâz*, pp. 217 f.).

Caetani believes (*op. cit.*, pp. 309 f.) that in the time of Mohammed the settlers were as pure Arabs as the nomads; today, however, negro blood predominates among the former as a consequence of a later immigration. — How it is possible that negroes could have immigrated into Arabia where there was nothing for them to expect but starvation, and why we should restrict the infiltration of negro blood to the time after Mohammed when we know that his contemporaries and he himself liked colored women — these are problems difficult to solve.

Caetani asserts (*ibid.*, p. 313) that in the Koran Mohammed preaches to settlers only, treating the nomads as foes. He overlooks the fact that in the Koran there are more verses directed against the settlers of Mecca than against the nomads, with many of whom Mohammed was on friendly terms. Caetani affirms (*ibid.*, p. 314) that Islam was a creation of settlers and was imposed upon the nomads against their will. The nomads, he would have it, formed their own idea of Islam, gave it a national character, and imposed it on the Persians and other people (*ibid.*, pp. 307 f., 327). — The history of the rise of Islam shows that it was the settlers who first taught Islam and that converted non-Arabian settlers enforced it among the Persians. As long as the Arabian nomads were connected with the government of the Islamic state the new religion was not enforced. Indeed Caliph Omar II was disturbed by the increasing number of Christians embracing Islam, since the finances of the state, based upon a head and ground tax levied on non-Moslems, fell into disorder when the Christians embraced the Moslem faith. The nomads fighting with the early Moslems against the Byzantine or Persian armies were interested in booty only and had little care for religion (see my *The Middle Euphrates*, pp. 283—315).

Notwithstanding the fact that Mohammed treated the nomads as foes and was obliged to impose Islam upon them, as Caetani argues, the Prophet united all the Arab tribes and transformed Arabia into a single military camp (*op. cit.*, p. 274). — On the preceding page, however, Caetani had pointed to the increasing desiccation as causing the dismemberment of the Arab tribes. Is it probable that an effect thus ceased when its immediate cause continued to operate unchanged? Arabic historians report that most of the greater tribes had to be subdued by Mohammed and that the majority of them were in rebellion at the end of his lifetime and had to be subjugated by his successor. There was certainly no unity in Arabia at this time (see above, pp. 221—224; also *Arabia Deserta*, pp. 546—552).

In one passage Caetani states that in the time of Mohammed the Arabs formed a nation of warriors (*op. cit.*, p. 390), but elsewhere he asserts that they had no knowledge of military training (*ibid.*, p. 355) since they disliked waging wars and were incited to make raids by starvation only (*ibid.*, p. 383). Assyrian, Greek, Latin, and Syriac records report that the Arabs almost continuously waged wars with the lords of the surrounding countries or helped them against their enemies (see *Arabia Deserta*, pp.

479—489, 501 f.; *The Middle Euphrates*, pp. 232 f., 336; *Palmyrena*, pp. 247, 274 f.). The Romans trained the Arabs and used them in their armies, Byzantines and Persians following their example. The Arabs, especially the nomads, in the time of Mohammed, as today, enjoyed war and raiding as sports. The danger and difficulty in obtaining loot attracted them, not the booty itself, which they divided among others or even abandoned as soon as it was captured. No Bedouin would agree that his raids are caused by famine.

Caetani is aware of the fact that there is not a single reference to the desiccation of Arabia or to the starvation of its inhabitants in the numerous accounts of the early Mohammedan wars. He therefore infers (*op. cit.*, p. 379) that the Arabs in Mohammed's time were unconscious sacrifices to the increasing dryness of the air, which brought about their gradual starvation during a "cosmic decline" of Arabia (*ibid.*, p. 384). Though they were not conscious of it, he maintains that it was famine which forced the Arabs to attack the Persians and Byzantines (*ibid.*, p. 368) and that they conquered both of these peoples, notwithstanding the fact that they had no military training and were forced by hunger to make their raids. The secret of their irresistibility would have been their youth. The Arabs of the desert were a young nation (*ibid.*, p. 374), full of vigor, bringing new life to the senile inhabitants of the Byzantine and Persian armies. — Caetani does not explain how it was possible for the Arabs of the desert, unconscious sacrifices to the "cosmic decline" of Arabia and for thousands of years the prey of famine, to preserve their youth and virility. The starving inhabitants of interior Australia or of the Kalahari desert are all but young. Caetani himself is aware of this contradiction (*ibid.*, p. 384) yet unable to explain it away.

Caetani maintains (*ibid.*, pp. 274 f., 277) that neither the Byzantines nor the Persians had men and money enough to keep the frontiers closed, that their frontier guards deserted as soon as the experienced Moslem armies appeared before them, and that the phenomenon of the victorious progress of the Mohammedans can be explained only by an appeal to the theory of desiccation. — He overlooks the fact that the populations united under Byzantine and Persian rule had lost their loyalty to the state and considered the government a burden rather than a benefit. If they had taken any interest in their state they might easily have repelled the Mohammedan armies. Yet they remained passive, especially in the beginning, assuming that the Arab raiders would soon leave the tilled country. Loss of loyalty brought the ruin of the Byzantine and Persian empires just as it caused the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy (see my *Ḳuṣejr 'Amra*, pp. 140—144; *The Middle Euphrates*, pp. 284, 289, 293). There is no need to invoke a theory of climatic change to explain the fall of these empires.

It is easy for Caetani (*op. cit.*, pp. 398 f.) to assert that many Syrians acted as spies and scouts for the Mohammedan Arabs and that the Arab settlers of Syria and Mesopotamia joined the Moslem armies and fought for their freedom (*ibid.*, p. 373); but it is very difficult to prove this, because all the Greek, Syriac, and Arabic sources are silent on the subject. The same difficulty is encountered by Caetani's assumption (*ibid.*, p. 281) that at first the Mohammedan Arabs killed and looted to quench their old thirst for blood but that later they settled in the conquered

countries. The sources refer to very little killing and looting but mention numerous peace treaties with the Christian inhabitants of Irak and Syria (see *The Middle Euphrates*, pp. 283—314).

As long as Arabian nomads were in the desert, Caetani (*op. cit.*, p. 393) maintains, they were barbarians, but as soon as they left the desert they became intelligent folk, who accustomed themselves to the civilization of the subjugated peoples. — An astonishing adaptability on the part of starving descendants of starving ancestors! Caetani goes on to affirm (*ibid.*, p. 375) that the famine-stricken nomads of Arabia destroyed two decaying religions and two civilizations, replacing them with a vigorous new religion and a new civilization; and that the Arab nomads, who knew nothing about administration, set up a model government as soon as they had settled in the conquered regions, and established a new era of wealth and peace such as had been unknown in Asia for many centuries. — The sources report that in Syria and Africa the Greek, and in Irak and Persia the Persian, officials continued to administer the provinces, and that the Arab administration begun in the time of Caliph 'Abdalmalek was merely a compromise between the Byzantine and Persian systems with an Arabian veneer over it. Where the Arab nomads interfered with a civilization they ruined it, affirms Ibn Ḥaldūn (*Ibar* [Bûlâk, 1284 A. H.], Vol. 1, pp. 125f.), the most reasonable of Arabic historians. We may speak of a Moham-medan but not of an Arabian civilization, since the builders of this civilization were Greeks, Syrians, Persians, Egyptians, and Berbers, who accepted Islam and wrote Arabic but never acquired the psychology of the Arab nomads or settlers. No starving people could ever have laid the foundations for a new civilization.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE DESERT AND THE TILLED COUNTRY

All the Babylonian, Egyptian, Assyrian, classical, Syriac, and Arabic records refer to Arabia as an arid, desert country. They divide its inhabitants into two groups: settlers and nomads. They speak of both of these groups as visiting the adjacent tilled countries to provide themselves with the goods necessary for life in the desert. These records show us that, while in the tilled regions, nearly all the settlers and many of the nomads would try to gain some money as hired laborers before returning to Arabia. Some of them would marry and settle down. Whenever a strong government safeguarded the life and property of its subjects the goat- and sheep-breeding nomads would till fields, construct sheds for their crops, and gradually become transformed into settlers. Camel breeders, or Bedouins proper, would replace their camels with goats and sheep, seldom leaving the borders of the agricultural regions for the desert and even becoming agriculturists themselves. Thus the civilized area would gradually encroach upon the desert. The contrary would happen when the governments of the states bordering upon Arabia deteriorated and when this deterioration lasted for some generations. The camel breeders would then raid the breeders of goats and sheep. These, in turn, would plunder the fields and villages of the settlers, who would rob the inhabitants of the larger towns. The latter would emigrate to regions farther removed from the desert. The settlers would replace their fixed houses with movable tents and turn to raising sheep and goats—in short, the desert would prevail over the farming

country. The same process would take place in the vicinity of every large oasis.

An intermittent infiltration of the inhabitants of the desert into the agricultural territories has continued ever since the oases and deserts of Arabia were occupied by man. Whenever the immigrants from the desert have been present in sufficient numbers, merely a slight impetus has been necessary to overthrow the government. Under these circumstances the larger towns have at first remained the property of the older inhabitants; the rural districts have first been taken over by the immigrants, who have gradually subdued the towns as well, forming new states and new civilizations. Thus the Nabataeans, the majority of the Palmyrenes, and the subjects of Sampsiceramus were Arabs. The Arabian element in Syria, southern Mesopotamia, and Babylonia was so strong under Odenath and Zenobia that it gained the supremacy. The strength of the Arabian population forced the Persians and Byzantines to recognize both the Lakhmite and Ghassanian states, and jealousy — or even fear — caused the governments of these great empires to try to destroy the desert principalities. It was evident in Byzantium and Ctesiphon that the Arabian kings were following their own policies and were growing ever stronger, not merely in the desert but among the Christian settlers of Mesopotamia and Syria as well. Is it necessary to invoke a theory of desiccation to explain these conditions or the subsequent rise of the Islamic state? No sudden emigration in great numbers was necessary for the overthrow of the Persian and Byzantine governments; a relatively slight shock sufficed, and under Mohammed and his successors such a shock was given. Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt ceased to obey the rulers residing in Byzantium and Ctesiphon and turned to al-Medina. Subsequently it was not the nomads of Arabia, but the inhabitants of these provinces, converted to Islam and classified among the Arab clans, who carried the Moslem religion across northern Africa and southwestern Asia. Were not the inhabitants of Irak and Syria filled with horror by the religious beliefs and cruelty of the Wahhâbites and did not British airplanes hold in check the Ehwân warriors of Eben Sa'ûd, we might easily witness in these countries at the present time a repetition of the events of the seventh century. We are not obliged to turn to the hypothesis of desiccation in order to explain the latter.

Arabia is by no means the dead and death-dealing country that Caetani depicts. It is an arid region with irregular and often insufficient rainfall, but after abundant rains it resembles a garden and in many places can be inhabited and tilled. That the Arabia of today is not as wealthy and populous as the Arabia of antiquity is due primarily to changes in the world's trade routes and to the lack of public security. The nature of the country has not altered; all the localities that were inhabited thousands of years ago are fit for human occupation at the present time. The mountain chains separating Arabia proper from the rift valley of al-'Araba and the coastal zone along the Red Sea could again be forested. Southeast of the Dead Sea I discovered large and dense forests (see my *Arabia Petraea*, Vol. 2, Part 1, pp. 299, 329), which during the World War were used to supply fuel for the Heğâz Railway. Southeast of these forests are great tracts of woodland (*ibid.*, pp. 38, 289 f.) and in the northern Heğâz many trees grow in the mountains. These would soon cover the slopes, provided they were not destroyed by

natives in search of aromatic gums and charcoal. Between the western mountain chain and the Euphrates there are also zones suitable for forests. The range stretching from the Antilebanon to the Euphrates bears witness to an ancient forest known to the Assyrians (see my *Arabia Deserta*, pp. 487 f.). In the vicinity of al-Ḳaṣṭal (see my *Palmyrena*, p. 49), in al-Abjaz (*ibid.*, p. 147), in Abu Riġmên (*ibid.*, pp. 149—151), and in al-Buṭmi (*ibid.*, p. 34) reforestation could be effected very rapidly. The same might be said of the vicinity of the Sirhân depression, where terebinth trees and poplars thrive (see my *Ḳuṣejr 'Amra*, pp. 62, 87, 93; *Arabia Deserta*, pp. 328—330, 343—345). South of the Nefûd the ranges of al-Misma, Eġa, and Salma bear so many trees and shrubs that no one can deny that they might well be reforested.

Besides forests, there are many large, bush-covered tracts in northern Arabia. Tree-like *raza'* plants form broad thickets in the Heġâz (see *The Northern Heġâz*, pp. 66 f., 160 f.) and cover the whole of the Nefûd desert (see above, pp. 15, 17, 19, 133; *Arabia Deserta*, pp. 149—151). In many of the western valleys luxuriant acacias grow (see above, pp. 116, 132) at the present time as in the past (see *The Northern Heġâz*, p. 207). Northeastern Arabia has fewer trees and shrubs, although *sidr* and *rimt* thrive there in many localities (see above, pp. 167 f., 171 f.; *Arabia Deserta*, pp. 48, 54, 59, 363) and would soon form dense thickets if protected against the fires of *fellâhîn* charcoal burners and shepherds, who kill the dry perennials for better pasture.

The Arabia Deserta of the classical writers derives its name from the lack of spring water, rather than from the lack of plants. It offers the best pasture during the rainy periods and could support thousands of herds and flocks during early spring and summer, if only the necessary water were available. In order to make good this deficiency hundreds of great artificial reservoirs were once constructed in this part of Arabia. A cautious government which would restore these reservoirs and construct new ones might make it possible for much more stock to be raised, thus saving the fields of the *fellâhîn* from the devastation caused by the nomads from the desert (see *Arabia Deserta*, pp. 263, 411).

Wells are very numerous in northern Arabia. Many of them are extremely deep and bear witness to the great skill of those who dug them. If all the caved-in wells were cleaned out and new ones sunk, the prosperity of both nomads and settlers would increase. Along the pilgrim roads and caravan routes there are hundreds of reservoirs and wells, which, if restored, would support not only trade caravans but the nomad tribes and clans as well. If, instead of fining and imprisoning culprits, a circumspect government would require them to clean out the caved-in wells and reservoirs and dig new ones in the territory of their tribes or clans, they would hardly consider such a judgment as a punishment and would thus be impelled to help both themselves and the government.

Large are the zones suited to cultivation and settlement. Nearly four-fifths of Palmyrena has formerly been and now could be settled; villages should grow there rapidly as soon as public security is established (see my *Palmyrena*, pp. 46, 59, 85 f.).

The zone between the aš-Šera' mountain range and the Heġâz Railway is suited to modern agriculture (see *The Northern Heġâz*, pp. 3, 48, 51).

The Sirhân depression might well be transformed into a single oasis about 280 kilometers long and averaging 10 kilometers in width. The basin of al-Ğowf was once covered with hamlets, and, as water is abundant there, it might well regain its old prosperity (see *Arabia Deserta*, pp. 197, 281), forming a continuous oasis 80 kilometers long by 5 wide. In the adjacent Nefûd as well as in the district to the south there are many wells, nearly all of which have abundant water and could maintain oases in the immediate vicinity. Each of the many natural basins characteristic of the topography of this part of Arabia is fitted for supporting an oasis, and, as the inhabitants would be willing to work, nothing but lack of security stands in the way of a revival of settlement and prosperity. The vicinity of 'Ajn at-Tamr for centuries has been famous for its dates. At the present time thousands of date palms grow there; hundreds of thousands could be planted, and the settlers might easily earn more than a bare livelihood (see my *Arabia Deserta*, pp. 361—367).

The coastal zone of the Red Sea as well as of al-Hasa on the Persian Gulf and the whole border between the tilled fields of Irak and the deserts of Arabia has fertile soil and an adequate supply of water. It could support hundreds of thousands of industrious settlers.

Along the trade and pilgrim routes are many towns and villages; some of these, if not all, will be rebuilt as soon as the increase in numbers and the enlargement of the oases have enabled their inhabitants to export the various products of inner Arabia to the neighboring states and to import articles necessary for the use of settlers and nomads.

History shows that Arabia has not suffered from desiccation but from lack of a far-sighted and powerful government. Such a government needs the support of neighboring states (see above, pp. 303, 304) If these states collaborate with the inner Arabian government, the inhabitants of Arabia, both sedentary and nomadic, would — in part at least — cease to be a menace to their civilized neighbors. I purposely say "in part" because it is doubtful if the Arabs will ever lose their love of raiding as a form of sport.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY I

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Of the various names of each Arabic author, the one most frequently used is printed first. Where this has necessitated a transposition of the proper order of the names, the transposition is indicated by a comma (thus: Al-Bekri, Abu 'Obejd 'Abdallâh ibn 'Abdal'azîz *instead of* Abu 'Obejd 'Abdallâh ibn 'Abdal'azîz al-Bekri).

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BIBLIOGRAPHY II

SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE HOUSES
OF EBEN RAŠĪD AND EBEN SA'ŪD

In gathering the material for my history of the houses of Eben Rašīd and Eben Sa'ūd, I have tried to examine all the manuscripts and printed sources available. Furthermore, during my sojourn in Arabia I made inquiries regarding various facts and events. The printed and manuscript sources may be divided into two groups: (1) those important for the religious movement and (2) those dealing with political events.

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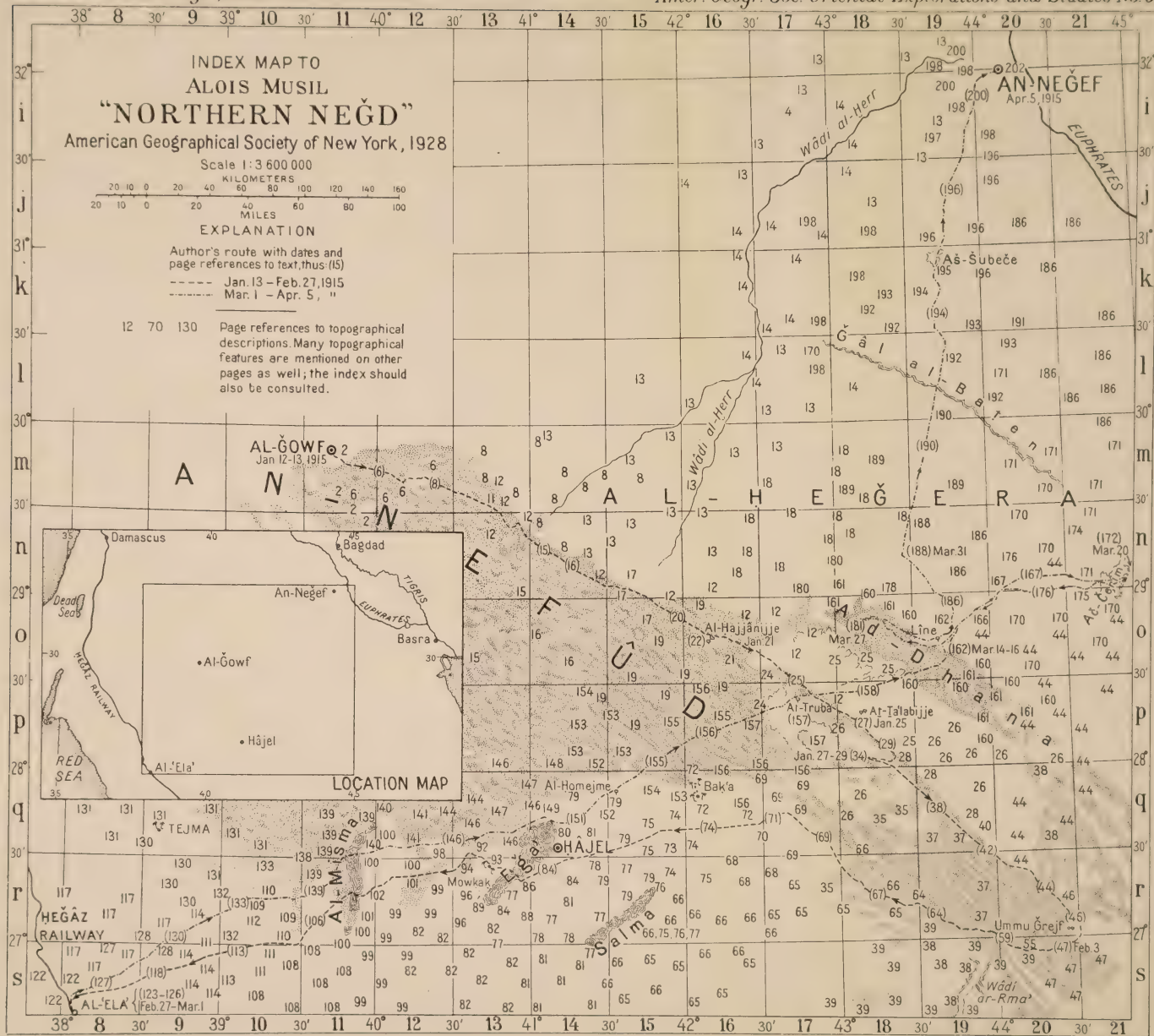
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GENEALOGY OF EBEN SA'ÛD

Muḥammad eben Mežren

Sa'ûd

Muḥammad,

Tnejjân,

Ibrâhîm, 'Abdallâh, Jûsef

'Abdal'azîz

'Abdallâh

Farḥân,

Mešâri

'Abdallâh, Mežren, Sa'ûd

Ḥasan

Tnejjân, Nâser, Snejtân, Muḥammad

'Omar,

Sa'ad

Zejd,

Turki,

Ibrâhîm

Ibrâhîm

Muḥammad, 'Abdarrahmân

'Abdallâh

Fejsal

Fahad

'Abdallâh, Muḥammad, 'Abdalmalek

'Abdallâh,

Fejsal,

Nâser,

Turki, Ibrâhîm, Sa'ad, Fahad, Mešâri, 'Abdarrahmân, 'Omar, Ḥasan, Ḥâled

Fejsal,

Ġelwi,

'Abdallâh

'Abdallâh

Sa'ûd

Mešâri

Muḥammad, 'Abdallâh

Ahmad

Sa'ad, Sa'ûd, Muḥammad

Fejsal, Mešâri

Nâser

Mešâri

'Abdallâh, Muḥammad,

Sa'ad

'Abdarrahmân

Muḥammad, Sa'ûd, Fahad, 'Abdallâh

Nâser

Turki

Muḥammad, 'Abdal'azîz, Sa'ad, 'Abdallâh

Muḥammad, 'Abdal'azîz, Sa'ad, 'Abdallâh

Fahad

Turki, Sa'ad, Sa'ûd, Salmân, Ḥusejn

Ḥâled

Turki, Fahad, Sa'ûd, Fejsal, Muḥammad, Mâğed, Ḥâled, Sa'ad

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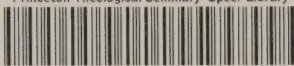
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